

MINUTES
OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS
OF

Monfr. Mesnager

AT THE
Court of *England*,

Towards the close of the last Reign.

W H E R E I N

Some of the most Secret Transactions
of that Time, relating to the Interest of
the PRETENDER, and a Clandestine
separate PEACE, are detected and laid
open.

Written by Himself.

Drawn out of FRENCH.

L O N D O N,

Printed for S. BARNES, at the Black-Swallow and
Anchor in Pall-mall near St. James's, 1767.

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Printed for S. BAKER, at the Black-Box and
Anchor in PATERNOSTER-ROW, 1717.

**MINUTE S
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NEGOTIATION**

Monfieur Mefnager, &c.

P Urposing here to write for private Remembrance, Memorials of some particular Secret Negotiations, which I have been employed in by the King's Command for some Years past; I design not to form it as an History of my Life, which was led in a more private Capacity, or to put it into such Shape as to appear publickly in the World.

AS I was for many Years Honoured with being employed among Persons of Figure, in Things appertaining to the Administration of State Affairs, during the Reign of the late King, of glorious Memory; but more particularly those for universal Commerce; IT gave me Acquaintance with the Business of Europe in general; and by the Assistance and furtherance of my Friends, gave me many Opportunities to be known to the King; and as his Majesty had the Goodness on several Occasions to say some things in my Favour, it fired me with a Zeal for his Service, and that commendable Ambition of rendering my self useful in the Interest of my Country.

It was not a little my good Fortune, that I came frequently before the King with such Papers and Writings, as having been furnished by His Majesty's Directions, required to be Signed by his own Hand; for by this means the King took more notice of me than usual; and as his more secret Services sometimes required Persons particularly nominated by the Secretaries to be employed, I found that two or three Times his Majesty cal-

called for me, to draw up some Schemes of publick Affairs, which He had digested in his own Thoughts; and which He was more capable of, than any Prince in the World; and on his Majesty, in my reading them to Him, would stop sometimes, and muse upon the Manner in which things were worded, He would sometimes say, *this* or *that* might be better express'd, and cause it to be altered as He himself was pleas'd to dictate; and sometimes would ask if it were not better *so* or *so*, and oblige me to give my Judgment; in which I had often the good Fortune to have my Opinion please Him better than his own.

These Things made me attend often upon the King, and at length brought His Majesty to call for me, upon Occasions far different from the common Business of my Office; as particularly, about the Year 1706, the King having himself formed a Scheme for some Attempts upon the *English* Colony at *Jamaica*, He called me frequently to Him to draw it up in Form: When it was, after several Alterations, brought to please Him, He told me, He was extremely

tremely fond of that Design, and asked me if I was willing to go to the King of Spain with it? I made his Majesty sensible what an Honour I should esteem it, to be sent to any Part of the World where his Service required. I think, says the King, no Body is so able to tell my Grandson, the King of Spain, my Thoughts in all the Particulars, as you who have seen all the Alterations, Amendments, and Additions we have made, and know the Ground-plot of the whole.

Accordingly I went to Madrid, and laid the Scheme before the King of Spain; but when He came to have it discoursed in his Council of State, they were so backward, so ignorant, conceived so ill of the Design, and raised so many Difficulties, that I was obliged to send his Majesty Word, I thought the Spanish Court capable of doing nothing for themselves. The King was exceedingly vexed that his Proposals were not received with so much readiness as was expected, and called me home again, which I was very well pleased with; nothing being more disagreeable to any Man, who has liv'd in France, and especially at Court, than that stiff, haughty,

ty, unconcerned Way, that the *Spaniards* do all their Business with.

This Project was in short thus: The King proposed to send 14 Men of War of the Line, to the *Spanish West-Indies*, to attack the *English* Colony of *Jamaica*: His Majesty's Measures were, that the Ships should Rendezvous at *Cadix*, there to take in Provisions, and as many *Spanish* Seamen as could be had there; from thence to proceed to the *Havana*. This the King ordered, because it would amuse the *English*, who would not imagine that the Design was so far out of the Way. The *Spaniards* made a Difficulty of every thing; they spent 3 Weeks in getting over the Method to prevent the *Spanish* Merchants going to *America* in our Ships without License, and would have had me gone back to *Paris* for the King's Hand, to an Engagement, that the *French* Ships should carry no *European* Merchandizes with them; nay, they would have had the King's Men of War submitted to be visited by the Custom-House Officers. Then they scrupled admitting the Men of War into the Port of *Havana*, for fear, I suppose, of Seizing it for the King of

France; as if when the King had given the King of *Spain* a Kingdom, He would have attempted to take some of it again from him.

Tired with this unpertinent Slowness in their Proceedings, and with the unperforming Temper of the *Spaniards*, the King, as I said, gave over the best Design that was ever laid of that kind, and which could not have failed to have answered the End, had no uncommon Disaster befallen it from the Elements; for as for the *Enemies*, there was no fear of any Preparations they could make for it; because there was no possibility of their having any notice of it.

The Ships, as I have said, were to have their Rendezvous at *Cadix*, and were to have Six Thousand Men on Board of Regular Troops, to whom the *Spaniards* were to join Two Thousand, with Twenty Transports; and the Rendezvous being at *Cadix*, they were to Sail from thence to the *Havana*, because it was his Majesty's Opinion if they went to *Martinico*, or *St. Christopher's*, the *English* would have notice of them, and would immediately

ately arm on all Hands, and be ready to oppose them; but as the *Havana* was a *Spanish* Port, between which and the *English* Islands, there was no occasion of Intelligence; it was the King's opinion, that it was easie for the Fleet to lie there, and be joined by the other Ships which should come from *Martinico*, &c. and the *English* to have no knowledge of it, which was indeed very reasonable: The King's Orders were then, that they should send an Express to the said Colonies at *Martinico*, to join them with all the armed Sloops, or other Ships they had, and in a Word, with all the Force they could raise, which, as the King said, He expected should be near 4000 Men more, with Ships and Sloops enough to carry them; without reckoning 3 Men of War, which were there already; and as the King observed, He was satisfied, that the *Four Thousand* Men from *Martinico* and *St. Christophers*, would be much fitter for Service, than the *Six Thousand* from *Europe*, for of them, his Majesty said, He should always expect one Half to be Sick.

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With this Force, the King's Measures were, that they should sail from the *Florida* directly to *Barbadoes*, and come to an Anchor in the Road; from whence they were to alarm all the rest of the *English* Islands, and by making Preparations to land, they should at least prevent that any Force should be sent from thence to *Jamaica*, where the main Design was to land; after some time, the whole Army and half the Men of War should sail to *Jamaica*, which is all with a Trade Wind, and Sea Current, leaving 7 or 8 Men of War at *Barbadoes*, to keep them alarm'd; that there the Forces should go directly on Shore, and attack the Ports at the Point, which there was no doubt, after a short Battery, they would take Sword in Hand; after which, the whole Island would be reduced of Course; besides the Booty in Merchandizes and Negroes, which would be immense.

The King was so wrapt up in this Project, that it was no wonder if He was very much displeased at the *Spaniards* that they had not an equal Passion

Passion for it, when it was proposed by me; and when I brought his Majesty an Account of their Behaviour, He said, *They are the most Brave Wise People in the World*. However, the King did not lay aside his Project, though He left out the *Spaniards* in the Execution; and though He changed the Nature of the Attempt, and the Scene of Action, which was removed to *Nevis*, and *Antigua*. There the Enterprise was some time after carried on with good Success; and our Admiral landed, destroyed the former entirely, and plundered the latter; and besides the other Booty made, and the Spoil done to the Enemy, our Men took as many Negroes from the *English*, as they sold afterwards to the *Spaniards* for 400000 Pieces of Eight. *But this by the Way.*

The King had now for many Years been embark'd in a heavy War with almost all the rest of *Europe*, in Defence of his great Grandson King *Philip's* Possession of the Crown of *Spain*, and though he had happily succeeded in the first Part, by the good Conduct of that perfect Politician, the Duke de *Harcourt*, and had brought
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not only the late King of Spain to concede the Crown by Testament, to the then Duke de Anjou at his Death; but had quietly placed him on the said Throne. Yet his Majesty found insuperable Difficulties in the Prosecution of the War, which that Affair was necessarily attended with; and which was worse, Fortune, contrary to her long usage, had faced about to His Majesty's Enemies, and that to such a Degree, That in the Space of Two Years, his Forces sustained three such Shocks, or his Enemies gained three such terrible Victories, as would have been sufficient to have overthrown, even the Roman Empire itself, in the Time of its most flourishing Circumstances.

These Advantages not only made the entering upon Measures for a Treaty of Peace more necessary to His Majesty than before, but more difficult also; as the Enemy became thereby the more Haughty and untractable; the English General the Duke of M——— was then newly made more Haughty than before, by the Complement, for it was little more, which was made him by the
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the Emperor, of creating him a Prince of the Empire, by the Title of *Middleheim*, a little Principality in the Claim of the House of *Bavaria*, and which that General could not be ignorant, *though perhaps the Title put that Circumstance from his Head*, must be rendred again at a Peace, whenever it should come to be treated of again.

Some have said, that the World ought to have seen that the *Duke of M——* had some Thoughts that this War was not to be ended at all by Treaty, but by Conquest, and that otherwise he could not have accepted an Honour so Temporary, as was sure to expire at a Peace; But it would be as much too gross for us to imagine, that he did not foresee the latter, as it would, that he should be so weak to flatter himself with the former,

However it was, that Prince, *for so I must call him*, had such an ascendant now over the Princes and States of the Confederacy, and who were at that time called, the *Grand Alliance*, that it was to no more Purpose to think of offering Conditions of Peace to

to any, but through his interposition, than it was to make any Offers to him, who seem'd resolv'd to put no end to the War, but by the Conquest of *Europe*.

The King, who saw with other Eyes than most Men, and who sometimes knew the Tempers and Characters both of Men and Nations of Men, better than they knew their own; was always positive in this, that a Treaty should commence without any Application to the *Duke of M——*: It was strange to see all his great Men of a contrary Opinion, insomuch, that one of them took upon him to say to the King, that it was impossible; *The King smiled, and said nothing*; but it was easie for a Man of any penetration to know it signified both Anger and Contempt; and the same Person, though of the first Rank, had the Mortification soon after to understand it better, when speaking in common Discourse of something very easie to be done, but which he thought difficult, *Ouy, said the King, il est impossible comme, &c. —* It is as impossible as treating without the *Prince of Mindleheim*; after this, no
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Man offered to say there could be no Treaty without the *Consent of M*—— But every one wondered which Way such a thing could be brought to pass.

It was a little while after this, that, attending on the King upon some common Occasion, his Majesty called me to him, *Be here,* said the King, *at 5 a Clock, I must set on Foot this impossible Negotiation;* I bowed, and attended at the Time; and His Majesty having sent to see if I was in the Anti-chamber, I was no sooner come in, but one of the Bed-chamber said to me, *You are too happy, Sir; while we wait here all Day, and all Night, you are asked for before you come.* I understood his meaning, and finding Means to let His Majesty know I was attending, I was immediately led into the King's Closer; *Come,* says the King, *I'll shew you how easie these impossible Things are to be done. I see I must do every thing my self.* I was going to speak, when the King putting into my Hand a Paper, *Read that over,* says his Majesty, *and tell me your Opinion of those impossible Things;* the Substance of these Papers contained several Reasonings

sonings upon the Means to bring the Allies to hearken to a Treaty of PEACE, and how to extricate the French Nation from so dangerous a War, and several Heads of Proposals, as the Plan of a Treaty: When I had read them all over, the King asked me what I thought of them; I told his Majesty, I thought it would be a harder Matter to bring the Allies to enter into a Treaty at all, than to lay down a Plan to be treated on, or to make Proposals for the Ground-work of a Treaty, and reminded his Majesty of the Repulse they had given to the Offer made by the Elector of Bavaria Two Years ago: You are right, said the King; but I have thought of a Method for that too. I bowed, and return'd, your Majesty is the Soul of all your Councils, none can pretend to give Measures like your self; Says the King, I must have a trusty Person at the Hague; an able Man never wants Instruments; I think you shall be the Man, Mefnager, What say you? the Thought just now occurs to me; here the King paus'd as if He had expected my Answer, and after a little, He turn'd short on me, Does your Heart fail you? says his Majesty.

I was a little surprized, for I had nothing but Joy in my Thoughts on the Motion. *Not to attempt any thing.* SIR, returned I, *that your Majesty Commands, only doubtful of my Ability: I'll take the Hazard of that,* says the King: *Get your self ready, and see me here to Morrow after Vespers.* I attended accordingly, and the King had ready his Instructions written with his own Hand; they were the shortest that ever any Agent received on a Business of such Importance, and contained no more than this:

- Place your self at the *Hague* incognito.
- Acquaint your self with Persons as you see occasion.
- Correspond with no Body but my Self.
- You know your Business.

I arrived at the *Hague* in 5 Days; took Lodgings in an *English* House, and passed for some time as an *Hungarian*, belonging to the Prince's *Ragotski*; here I made an Acquaintance or two, by whom I had some Intelligence of the real Causes why the Treaty of Peace was so opposed by

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every side, while indeed every one was willing enough to have entertained it, could they have made their private Advantages in the Treaty: This was that they were so jealous of one another for; every one knowing the Readiness of *France* to make a Proposal; that they kept Spies upon one another in every Court, to watch, if so much as a new Face did but appear: As the *English* had frequently express'd their uneasiness on that Account; so had the *Dutch* alternately to them; and it was not without great Menage, that an Understanding was preserved between them.

This Jealousie made it next to impossible for us to make any private Proposal, and as impossible to have any publick Proposal accepted; for Example, when it was offered in the Year 1706, by private Negotiations, it tended only to have the Parties fall upon one another with Jealousies and Reproaches, and then purge themselves again, by satisfying one another reciprocally, at the Expence of our Master; this they gave for a Reason to one another why, when the Duke
of

of *Bavaria*, by his Majesty's Command, wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and at the same time to the States Deputies, to invite them to a Treaty, they would not give so much as the Civility of an Answer to his Electoral Highness's Letter, till they first communicated the said Letter to each other.

This mutual Jealousie of the Allies, as it was no Testimony that either had any opinion of the others Honesty, so it was well known from whence it proceeded, especially on the Part of the *English*, which Piece of Secret History is well worthy to be remembred.

The *High Treasurer* in *England*, the same we call *Superintendant de Finances*, had long complain'd to the States General, of their Deficiency in Paying their Proportions of extraordinary Expences for the general Service of the War; particularly, such as Provisions and Transports for their Forces in *Spain*, where they carried on their Affairs heavily, and at an exorbitant Expence, which extended far beyond the Sums furnished by their Parlia-

ment for those Services. This in England they called *Exceedings*; and being discharged out of Money appointed for other Services, left the Treasury in Debt every Year; which, it seems, he did not, as in Duty their Treasurers are bound, lay Annually before their Parliament, in order to have Provision made for it; but left it on the general Credit of their Finances, to be provided for some time or other, he knew not when; and in the mean time was very importuning with the States for Payment of their share of those Sums, and that even to some Uneasiness, and warm Expressions which pass'd between them; particularly the States being press'd beyond measure for those *Exceedings*, in regard to the War with Spain; answered flatly, that they did already expend sundry great Sums for the publick Good beyond what they thought their Quota; that if they were to be press'd beyond their Ability, they must put an end to the War upon the best Terms they could. This, as it will come to be mentioned again, I remark, because Monsieur — our Agent for secret Service, then at London, often assured me afterwards, that the Treasurer complain'd in his Hearing,

ing, that the *Dutch* gave such Answers on all Occasions when he demanded Justice on those Accounts; and that there was no Remedy, but *England* must pay those Sums, though it occasioned a great Arrear of Debts beyond the Appointments for the Service.

These were, it seems, the Debts which afterward grew very Clamorous against the said *Treasurer*, and which, as we are told in *France*, were laid to the Charge of his Mismanagement, and was made use of to cause him to be displaced from his Office. But this I know little of but by Report.

I found the Jealousie abovesaid between the Allies, made them, as I have observed, very untractable; and it was long e're I brought my self to be in any Capacity to render the Service to the King which his Majesty expected; however, by long Residence having gotten some Acquaintance among the Foreign Ministers; I found *Monsieur Pettecum*, the Minister of *Holstein*, a very penetrating Man; his Figure was too mean, to

set up in the Name of his Master for a *Mediator*; yet he was a Man of so much Address, and stood so well with all the Ministers of the Allies, and even with the States Deputies, that it was thought very reasonable to hope for Success from so prudent a Minister, if he might be brought to espouse the present Cause; and Ways and Means were soon found to effect that Part.

In a Word, Monsieur *Poitteum* went to Mynbeer *Hienfius*, and to several others, and managed with so much Address, that he brought the States to give consent for the Marquis de Torcy and another, to come to the Hague, without Character, as Agents, to make Proposals only to be taken *ad referendum* towards a Treaty.

Thus was set on Foot the famous *Preliminaries* which were so much talked of in the World, and which being refused afterwards by the King of France, brought on the Treaty of *Ghertruydenburgh*.

Here my Negotiation ended, although I was after this employed in
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several Parts of that Treaty, where, a little while, they amuled the World with strange Things, and having done nothing at all, the War was renewed with as much Violence as ever.

I cannot but take Notice, how, from the breaking of this Negotiation, that Providence, which for many Years had prospered all the Attempts of the most Christian King, till he was exalted to be the Chief of the Kings of the Earth, but had seem'd to turn against him for some time, and to favour his Majesties Enemies, turned now against the Confederates: especially on the solemn Appeal to Heaven against them, by the *French* Plenipotentiaries, upon breaking up the Conferences of that Treaty; which Appeal in the King's Name is express'd in Emphatick Terms in the Letter sent by our Plenipotentiaries to the Pensionary of *Holland*, at the breaking up of the Conferences of the Treaty of *Gertruydenburgh*; as follows.

“ His Majesty has long since declared, that, for the Sake of sure
 “ and definitive Peace, he would
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“ grant such Conditions as were in
 “ his Power to perform ; but he will
 “ never promise that, which he
 “ knows is impossible for him to
 “ perform : if through the Injustice
 “ and Obstinacy of his Enemies, he
 “ is deprived of all Hopes of ob-
 “ taining a Peace : Then placing
 “ his Confidence on the Providence
 “ of GOD, who can, when he thinks
 “ fit, humble those who are puffed
 “ up with unexpected Prosperity,
 “ and who make no Account of the
 “ publick Calamities, and the Effu-
 “ sion of *Christian* Blood ; he will
 “ leave it to the Judgment of all
 “ *Europe*, and even of the People of
 “ *England* and *Holland*, to find out
 “ the true Authors of the Conti-
 “ nuance of such a bloody War.

After this, I say, Heaven blasted
 many of their Undertakings, and seem-
 ed to declare to them, that He would
 not again trust them with the Honour
 or Opportunity of making the Peace
 of *Europe* ; for it's certain, *had they*
seen it, that then was the Crisis
 wherein the End, for which they pre-
 tended to carry on the War, was of-
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ferred them by the King; and altho', to justify the Omission, they have in *odious Terms* published, that the *French Plenipotentiaries* were not sincerely inclined, or fully instructed to make the Peace; I can say of my own Knowledge, that the King was entirely desirous and earnest to have concluded the Peace, even almost upon their own Terms; that *unnatural Clause* of declaring War against his Grandson of Spain, only excepted.

I remember this well by the following Circumstance, that being by the King's Command, to attend his Majesty with a Paper of further Instructions for the Plenipotentiaries, just before their final Conclusion, the King had received some Dispatches from *Ghertruydenburgh* before I came, and was reading them very intently; upon my entring the Closet, and offering to put some Papers into his Hand, his Majesty put them by, and said, *It is too late now; the Affair is over; there is nothing to be done; it seems my Grandson must not be King of Spain, and I must not be King of France;* and with this the King laid aside what

what I had brought; a while after He entered into a short Exclamation at the Obstinacy of his Enemies, *Bon Dieu! GOOD GOD!* says the King, lifting up his Eyes, *will they not be content to have the King of Spain dethron'd, but will they have me do it with my own Hands.*

From this time forward the War went on much better on the King's Part; Successes flowed in upon him from several Parts, and the Confederates met with many Disappointments: They made indeed two Campaigns in *Flanders*, in one whereof they spent the whole Summer with an Army of 120000 Men, and gained nothing but the little Town of *Bouchain*, while the *French* Troops broke into the flat Country on the side of *Sluis*, and ravaged a great Extent of Land, even into the *Dutch* Frontiers beyond *Berghen-opzoom*. Of the next Year I shall speak more in its time; in *Spain*, though the Arch-Duke *Charles* had taken *Sarragossa*, and defeated part of the *Spanish* and *French* Army near that City, in Prosecution of which Victory, they a second Time had driven

ven King Philip from Madrid; yet the Scale of War turning, by the Justice of Heaven, the *English* were first surrounded and taken at *Brihanza*, and the whole Imperial Army overthrown at the Battle of *Killa Vicoja* by the Duke de *Vendefme*; their left Wing was cut in Pieces, and their right being driven out of the Field, General *Stampergh* was forced to quit the whole Kingdom of *Aragon*, and was pursued till he took Sanctuary even within the Walls of *Barcelona*; in a Word, he was driven out of all Spain in the space of one Campaign, *Lerida*, *Balaguer*, and all the Frontier abandoned, and *Gironne* taken before their Faces.

At Sea, our Fleet was no less prosperous, in taking the Town of *St. Sebastian* in the *Brasills*, and the Port of *Rio Janiero*, where they burnt 3 *Portuguese* Men of War, brought off a Booty of 610000 *Craifadoes* in Gold, which was paid to save the Town from burning; besides an infinite Treasure in Goods; also they had several Successes on the Frontiers of *Andalusia* against the *Portuguese*, and entirely Defeated all

all the Measures of the *German* upon the *Rhine*.

By this time, the Enemy was sensible of their Mistake, and saw Reason to wish that they had accepted the Conditions that were offered to them the Year foregoing; nay, in *England*, a Nation where the common People have a Share in the Administration of Power, they warmly resented this Omission, according to what is said before in the Letter to *Mynheer Hienslus*; (*viz.*) that the King would leave it to the Judgment even of the People of *England* and *Holland*, to find out the true Authors of the Continuance of such a bloody War.

But these were small things, compared to what we are to see transacted in *Great Britain*; and which will serve so far to finish the Reign of our *August Monarch*, as to leave it upon Record, that He was certainly, to the last, the most fortunate of all Princes that ever Reign'd upon Earth.

This I cannot omit to leave upon Record, that into whose Hands soever these Memoirs of mine may fall, these

these Things testified by me, who had the Honour to converse intimately with his Majesty in the greatest and most valuable Confidences, may obtain upon the Belief of those, who would otherwise think that Fable has taken Place in the History of his Majesty's Deeds.

To look back on the Calamities of the eight last Years, and see to what dreadful Extremities *France* was reduced, is the true Rise from whence to take a View, as in Perspective, of the glorious Successes, and the exalted Pinnacle of Honour to which our invincible *Monarch* has since arrived: What better Step can we take to magnifie the mighty *LEWIS*, whose magnanimous Breast contained the only Heart that was not overwhelm'd with Despair! What was to be seen throughout the whole *French Nation* but Anxiety and Sorrow; the Nobility began to think of having their Estates taken from them, and their fine Palaces ravaged by the invincible Troops of *Great Britain*; the Prince of *Mindleheim* was expected at *Paris*; and that the Royal Palace of *Versailles*, the Glory of the World, and the

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Pattern of an invincible Genius, should be plundered by Prince *Eugene*, as was that of *Marick*; the Generals, the Colonels, and gallant Officers, who used to bear down all before them, expected now no more Conquests; and the invincible Troops of the King's Household, went into the Field, like Men going to Execution; as being fully assured now, not of certain Victory, but of certain Death; all the View we had, in seeing great and numerous Armies drawn together, was, to protract the Fate of our dear Country, as long as we could; but we all looked upon *France*, as in the same Condition the *Roman Empire* was in under *Justinian*; that was sinking under the cruel Invasions of the barbarous Nations, and was only upheld for a little while by the Gallantry of their invincible Emperor, the ever fortunate *Justinian*.

When the Allies, at the Treaty of *Ghertraydenburgh*, imposed insupportable Hardships and Conditions, to the last Degree dishonourable; There was scarce a Man to be seen, who did not secretly accept them in his Thoughts, wishing the King would give

give Peace to his People at any Price; How did we curse the *Spanish* Nation, and that Ambition, which, to set up one Man upon a Throne, scarce worth possessing, had ruin'd the most flourishing Nation in the World. Never would the *French* have so willingly gone into the Field, as they would to have forced King *Philip* to have yielded *Spain* to the Enemy, at the King's Demand, if he had consented to make that Demand, and the other had declined it. And so far were we from thinking it would be an unnatural Thing in the King, that People began, even with a Kind of respectful Treason in their Expressions, to say, it was more unnatural for a King, who is the Political Father of his Country, to give it up for the Sake of one single Relation. That true Patriots gave their Lives a Sacrifice to their Country's Good, but that our Country was given a Sacrifice, nay, the Glory of our King, and the King himself, for the Grandeur of one Man. We saw the Enemy on the Border of the Country, and should our Army have had but one Defeat more, there had been nothing to hinder their passing the *Ouse* into the Heart of

of *France*; every one trembled at the Thoughts of the approaching Campaign; never was *Paris* in such a Fright, as when the News was brought that the Duke of *M*——— had passed the Lines: every one thought he was advancing into *Picardie*, not thinking so great a General as he, would still have spent more Time about Towns, when the Country to the Sea Coast lay open, and where, being Masters of the Sea, they could be supplied with all Necessaries at Pleasure; We thought our selves in the Extasie of a Deliverance, when we heard he was set down before *Bouchein*; and that Town well bestowed, when we found the Campaign wholly taken up with that Siege.

In the Time of the Treaty at the *Hague*, upon the first Appearance, were we not even then giving the Confederates *Chart Blanc*? Was not *Spain* and the *Indies* sacrificed at one Blow? When the Kingdom of *Naples* was deny'd, did not the King come down to the poor Reserve of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for his Grandson: and almost beg a little Kingdom for *King Philip*, that having been once great, he might have

have still the Name of *King*, though poor and dispossessed? And did not the Marquis de Torcy himself sign those *exorbitant Preliminaries*, by which so much was given up, that not only *Spain* would have been lost, but even *France* itself very much reduced? These were indeed but too just Tokens of the dangerous Circumstances we thought ourselves in.

But the King was wiser than all his People; he alone foresaw, inspired from *Heaven*, that having done all a just Prince could do, Justice it self would appear in his Behalf, and that Sovereign Hand of Providence would resent for his Majesty the Insolence of his Enemies; he therefore putting himself and Kingdoms upon that Providence, as is said before, his Majesty resolved to refuse the *Preliminaries*, and rather wait the Event of the War, *soit comme il soit*, Hap as Hap might: according to what is said before in the Letter; placing his Confidence in the Providence of God, who can, when he thinks fit, humble those who are puffed up with unexpected Prosperity.

Till the King came to a final Resolution in this nice Part of his Affair, *for it was a terrible Crisis for France*; I saw that his Majesty appeared very uneasy, anxious, and full of Care and Concern about the Event of Things: sometimes expressing great Regret, that his *good Fortune* should, *as it were*, forsake him at the End of his Days; that he should live to see his Laurels fade, and that his Glory should suffer so eminent an Eclipse, as in such a dishonourable Peace must be his Case. The rude Manner with which the Enemy treated him, in the Person of his Ministers, who were obliged to appear *incognito* under Restrictions, without Character, limited as to Time of Stay in the Country, and allowed to be there at all, but as an Act of Condescension: These were hard Things in the Matter of the Treating, as well as the hard Terms of the Treaty it self; and altogether filled his Majesty with Resentment: He had been used to give the Law of Treaties, not to have the Law given him, and not to send Plenipotentiaries *incognito* to beg Conditions: All these Things, I say, made the King very chagrin,

chagrin, he eat little, slept little, looked ill, talked more to himself than to any about him, and appeared full of Uneasiness and Dissatisfaction; But as soon as he had resolved to refuse the 37th Article of the Preliminaries, and venture whatever should be the Event; his Countenance immediately returned, he eat, slept, smiled, and I never saw him look better pleased in my Life.

I had little or no Concern in what immediately followed the breaking up the Treaty of Preliminaries; The Treaty of Ochertraydenburgh, was a Winter Negotiation, for the Allies were too haughty, to think of a Cessation of Arms; they were, as the King said, puffed up with unexpected Prosperity: So the Campaign being over, it was carried on in the Depth of Winter, and it was only supposed to be a Treaty for the adjusting of one Article: There was little or no Ceremony about it, all the World knows it broke up without coming to any Agreement, and that the War went on with more Vigour than ever: which is all I shall minute here concerning it.

The Campaign between these two Transactions had been still unfortunate; *Douay, Tournay, and Mons*, was lost; and the Battle of *Malplaquet*, was fought to the Disadvantage of our Troops; but the Rashness of the Enemy in attacking our Army in such a Situation, cost them so dear, that altho' they claimed the Ceremony of a Victory, the essential Part was due to his Majesty, the Confederates having lost 24000 Men on the Spot, and obtained nothing but the Honour of seeing our Troops tyred with Slaughter, and retreat with the Loss of less than 7000 Men: neither got they one Foot of Ground by that bloody Action; for the Siege of *Mons*, they were in Condition to have undertaken before, and after all, they had the Satisfaction to see the *French Army* encamped again, in less than 20 Days, upon the very same Spot where they fought, ready to have accommodated the Allies with another Victory, at the same Price.

It was the Winter after this Battle, that the Treaty of *Ghertruydenburgh* was carried on; where the King again struggled

struggled hard to have put an End to the Calamities of *Europe*, but in vain; and *Heaven* being Eye-witness to the Sincerity of our Master, and to the Obstinacy of his Enemies, opened a Door to the publick Tranquillity another Way; and of this I shall have Room to record much, having had the Honour to be much entrusted with the most secret Negotiation, and the best managed Affair of its Kind, that perhaps was ever carried on in the World; in which his Majesty shewed his most exquisite Endowment, the Direction of every Part being his own, and being himself the Spring, and very Movement of the whole; to whose Councils, the Gentlemen we had to do with, were no Way equal: tho' it is true, that when they came to take some of their Measures from our Monarch, they became as much superior to the rest of the Allies, who neither by Force or Polity were ever able to break into their Measures, or turn them from those Steps which they resolved upon, from and in Concert with his Majesty's Councils.

It was found about this Time, that there were some Uneasinesses in

the *British* Affairs, with Respect to the several Interests of Persons near the Queen; which tho' they had long layn smothered up in the Breast of some great Men, yet as they wanted only fit Occasions to discover themselves, so those Occasions frequently offered; of which I had an Opportunity, while I was in *England*, to see much, and inform my self of the rest.

The House of C—— had for a long Time been fortified by Alliances with the Nobility, and having thereby made it self strong, had obtained so great a Share in the Administration of publick Affairs, that at this Time it was thought insupportable by many others, as well in the Court as in the Army: The Duke of M—— found himself at the Head not only of the Army of the Queen his Mistress, but of the Armies of the whole Confederacy; and thereby he grew formidable at Home; his Dutchesse possessed the Queen, having her Ear in all Things as entirely, as she knew how at first to improve it wisely: The Duke saw his four Daughters married to Noblemen, as well of the greatest

greatest Fortunes, as of the greatest Interest in the Kingdom: his two Brothers rising under him, one as Lieutenant General in the Queen's Armies, the other as an Admiral in the Fleet: The Earl of *Sunderland*, one of his Sons in Law, was Secretary of State, and the Lord *Roxton* another, was Son to the chief Treasurer; So that the whole Government, Military, Civil, and Marine, was in their Hands under the Queen.

While it was thus, by how much the more just they were to the Interest of their Mistress, by so much the less Cause had we to think them Friends to *Europe*, or Benefactors to Mankind; because, *tho' it is true*, they, in pursuing the War with extream Ardour, were sure to aggrandize their Mistress, and make her Glory rise beyond the Desires, even of her Sex; yet as this was by continuing the Calamities of *Europe*, and shedding an infinite Ocean of Human and Christian Blood; it was apparent they would rather recommend their Mistress for a Heroine, than a Christian.

The Queen her self had not much Hand in this, being the more easily perswaded, that the War was necessary, by how much the more she found it glorious to her self; and was daily furrounded with the Congratulations of her Courtiers, for one Victory or another, nay, perhaps, as is likely to be the Case there, as well as in other Places, sometimes when no Victory was really gained.

‘ The Queen, speaking of her Person,
 ‘ was a Princess full of many good
 ‘ Things; she was mild, peaceable,
 ‘ and merciful in her Disposition, apt
 ‘ to believe every one that was about
 ‘ her faithful and honest, like her self;
 ‘ easily perswaded to think, all they did
 ‘ was for her Advantage, and that
 ‘ they were better Judges of it than her
 ‘ self; This made it too often to be the
 ‘ Case, that she put the same Confidence
 ‘ in the People she employed,
 ‘ even when they acted quite contrary
 ‘ to what those had done who had
 ‘ been in Trust before them; the Con-
 ‘ sequence of which was, that what-
 ‘ ever was *done amiss*, it was known
 ‘ that Her Majesty meant it well; and
 ‘ whatever Her Majesty meant, many
 ‘ Things were *done amiss*. It was Her
 ‘ parti-

' particular Fate to act the most Part of
 ' Her Reign, in Concert with that Part
 ' who she loved least; Every one
 ' knows, that although *England* is the
 ' most divided People in the World,
 ' yet that they have but two Parties,
 ' by which the rest are denominated,
 ' (*viz.*) the High Church or *Tories*,
 ' and the Low Church or *Whigs*; some
 ' have named the Friends of the Che-
 ' valier *St. George* in *England*, called
 ' *Jacobites*, as a third Party; but as
 ' they all appear with the *Tories*, so
 ' neither do they desire to leave the
 ' *Tories*, or the *Tories* them; as for
 ' the *Catholicks*, they are so few, and
 ' so oppressed by either Party in their
 ' Turn, that Prudence directs them
 ' to sit still and look on, while the
 ' Disorders of the Commonwealth en-
 ' courages them to expect, that at one
 ' Time or other, Heaven will make
 ' all the Parties subservient, by their
 ' Intestine Broils, to restore the
 ' true Religion of their Ancestors. *But*
 ' *this by the Way*. I return to the Queen's
 ' Person.

' It is no Disrespect to the Memory
 ' of Her Majesty, which I honour
 ' for a thousand good Qualities, *to say*,
 ' that Reasons of State, or perhaps
 ' the

' the Influence of those in whom she
 ' trusted, occasioned that she did not
 ' so much act Nature in the Conduct
 ' of her publick Affairs, as she did in
 ' most of the other Parts of her Life ;
 ' and tho' it is true, that Her Majesty
 ' was the sincerest Woman on Earth,
 ' yet was she obliged to reign by that
 ' Method of Administration which she
 ' did not naturally love, and oppose, or
 ' rather discountenance, those she did :
 ' NOR was it Want of Sincerity
 ' in the Queen, but Necessity of State,
 ' which obliged her to it. To descend
 ' to Particulars: By Inclination, the
 ' Queen was with the *High Church*,
 ' or *Tory Party*; but such was the
 ' Folly and Rashness of the Heads of
 ' that Party in the Beginning of her
 ' Reign, that they not only could not
 ' avoid infinite Mistakes and wrong
 ' Steps when they were employed,
 ' for the Queen began Her Reign with
 ' them; but they had not the Prudence
 ' to behave when displaced, as if they
 ' ever expected to be admitted again.

' THIS, their Enemies the *Whigs*,
 ' failed not to improve to their Dis-
 ' advantage, and to provoke the best
 ' natured Princess in the World so,
 ' that,

' that, for *some Time*, the Queen was
 ' very well satisfied that she ought to
 ' displace them, and was even pleased
 ' with reflecting, how just she had
 ' been to her self, and to her People,
 ' in parting with them: tho' this Sa-
 ' tisfaction did not continue to the
 ' End of her Reign: But to return to
 ' the Character.

' The Queen, as above, among her
 ' many good Qualities, was a very
 ' passionate Lover of the common
 ' People, as generally they were of
 ' her Majesty; and she was not easier
 ' to be deceived by any Pretences,
 ' than that of the Safety and Prosperity
 ' of the People: In a Word, she was an
 ' excellent Princess, and wanted no-
 ' thing to place her among the Bles-
 ' sed, but that she should have been
 ' brought into the Bosom of the *Catho-*
 ' *lick* Church, in which alone is dura-
 ' ble Felicity.

I note these Particulars in the Cha-
 racter of this Princess, rather as a
 necessary Introduction to what will
 happen in the Sequel of these Me-
 moirs, than that I can give a perfect
 Character of *the Queen*, to whom we
 are

are but Strangers; and I may perhaps have Occasion to touch the same again, as I proceed in those Accounts.

This Temper of *the Queen* had some Share in the Changes which now were breaking out in her Court: The Party which aimed at the Administration, had gotten Ground for some Time; partly thro' their own politick Management, and the Weakness of *the Queen*; and partly by some Instruments which they had the good Fortune to place near the *Queen's* Person, by whom they failed not to insinuate daily Things disadvantageous to the Ministry then in Place; yet more especially agreeable to the *Queen's* Inclination; and this they did with such Application and Success, that it soon began to appear, that the *Queen* had not the same warm Side to the *Whigs*, which she had before.

It is necessary to halt here, and go back to Persons, who I must introduce, not into the Queen's Business only, but into her Confidence, for some Time before any Thing publick appeared; and by whose Arts the Queen was prevailed with, happily for us in France, to change her Notions of Things, and
to

to quit her Engagements with the *Whigs*, who were our mortal *Enemies*: After which, I shall the more easily bring on the Part I had to act in the Things which followed, and how all these Things, *Providence wisely working*, concurred to restore the Glory of our Glorious and Immortal *LEWIS*, and to save *France* from Destruction.

The *Dutchess* of M—— was for some Years so much the Favourite of the *Queen*, that she was said to rule her who reigned: She was not only her nearest Servant, but her Friend, her Companion, her Intimate; the Partner in all she did, and in all she enjoy'd; This Lady had, as most Ladies have, a principal Servant or Confident under her, who was in some Respects the same Favourite to the *Dutchess*, that the *Dutchess* was to the *Queen*; when I had an Account in *England*, how the *Dutchess* introduced this *Familiar* into the *Queen's* Chamber, and not only brought her to be known to her Majesty, but gave her particular Recommendation, praising her for her Address, her Fidelity, and constituting her, as it were, her Second, not only in the common Services, but even in the Confidences of her Mistress; I could

could not refrain calling to Mind the Fate of the *Queen Mother of France*, in the Reign of *Lewis XIII.* who introduced to the King her Son, her Favourite the *Bishop of Luçon*, afterwards the famous *Cardinal Richlieu*; and who thence forwards insinuating himself into the King's Favour upon his own Foot, became the Prime Minister of that long Reign; but was no sooner so exalted, than he became the most implacable Enemy and Persecutor of his Benefactress, never ceasing till he had obtained of the King, to banish her first from his Presence, and after from his Kingdoms; refusing either to give her the just Dowry, which appertained to her as Queen; or to suffer her to return to his Kingdoms, even to the Day of her Death.

In like Manner, *this mean Person* being thus steep'd in, turn'd upon her Benefactress: She failed not to be soon laid hold of by a *subtler Agent*, of whom I am going to speak, and by him to be made an Instrument to bring off the Queen from several Things, which the Persons then in the Administration had in their Design, relating to the publick Affairs; and here it was that they first

first began to find that their Influence in Matters began to abate; That the Queen, who used implicitly to give up in what Measures were brought to her by the Hands of those she entrusted, and to yield wholly to their Advice; began now to hesitate, to enquire into Particulars, to dislike, to decline giving her Consent, and the like; and one Time it was observed, that when some Things were brought to her to sign, relating to the carrying on the Preparations for the next Year; her Majesty signed, but was observed to let fall some Tears; and taking a great Sigh said, *LORD! When will this Spilling of Blood be at an End.*

NOTE, This I learned by Report, after my Coming to *England*, but I had it from such Persons of Honour, as merit to be believed; especially the Things *I afterwards saw* there concurring so evidently therewith: When Things began thus to discover themselves, it was not difficult to guess, who had been plugging with their Fleiser, (viz.) **ROBERT HARLET** Esq; a private Gentleman of *Welsh* Extract, but grown popular by his having been a constant Member of their lower

er House of Parliament, where he had many Followers, and had been several Times Speaker; This Man had also, by the like Recommendation of the High Treasurer to the Queen, been made *Secretary of State*; in which Post, it scarce is to be doubted, but that finding he had obtained upon the Queen, whether by meer good Fortune, or by I know not what *Force* of the Queen's Judgment, too easie to be imposed upon, or by a certain *Address* peculiar to himself, we that know so little of that Nation can ill resolve; I say, finding he had an Interest in the Queen, independent of the Treasurer who brought him in, and who, at first, was exceeding fond of him; He soon played the same Game as the Female had attempted to do, and set himself to ruin their Interest, who had brought him in.

Having mentioned this Person, who, as above, I rank as a private Gentleman, but at my Coming, I found to be Prime Minister in the *British* Court; I must stop a little to speak of him, who has made so much Stir in the World, and whose Fate is not yet determined.

He

He is a Person of real great Capacities, general Knowledge, and polite Learning, a taking and very engaging Way of Conversation, and when one discourses with him on indifferent Affairs, he speaks most readily and clearly to every Thing, having a vast Memory, and a very happy Elocution; he is affable and courteous, easy of Access, and prevents all Ceremony by a Familiarity that is extremely obliging.

In publick Business only, he differs from himself; for there his Discourse is always reserved, communicating nothing, and allowing none to know the whole Event of what they are employed to do; his Excess of Caution makes Business hang on his Hands, and his Dispatches were thereby always both slow and imperfect; and it is said, he scarce ever sent any Person abroad, though on Matters of the greatest Importance, but that he left some of their Business to be sent after them. The Fault of his Parts brought him in to the greatest Employments, but when he was in, it never failed to render him uneasy to all that were either above, or below him: He knew too much to take his Measures from any Man, and

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it was said, that it was the hardest Thing in the World for any Man to take Measures from him; he has been thought by most People to design well in the main, but has taken such crovick Measures to bring his good Designs to pass, that his Good would be as fatal as other Peoples Evil; his being so absolute in his own Measures, as to enter into no Freedoms with any, has been the Cause that he has broke with every Body first or last: When I came to *England*, his Character was very strangely compounded of a Mixture of good and evil, no Man spoke well of him in the general, all applauded him in particular, he had many Virtues, and few personal Vices attended him; he had less Avarice than Ambition, a complete Government of his Passions, and seems to be perfectly void of Pride: As to Money, he stood even to a Fault, to mention that Character given by a famous Author to his Predecessor, (*viz.*) *to be frugal of the Queen's Money, and lavish of his own*; he had a Genius for the greatest Undertakings, and a Courage equal to the boldest Attempts; an Instance of which was, the establishing the Funds for the Debts unprovided for, and settling the *South Sea Company*; the

the first, even against the Wills of most of the Persons to whom those Debts were due; the last, against the universal Dislike of the whole Nation; both which he reduced; and erected such a Scheme, both for ascertaining a precarious Debt, and appointing an unpracticable Commerce, that in less than one Year, those who were the greatest Opposers of the first Steps in it, were the Men who bought up all the Stock; insomuch that it was thought by some, that they opposed it at first rather because they envied him the Success of it, than that they did not think it the best Scheme of its Kind that ever was laid in that Nation: But his Courage has appeared in one Particular, which his worst Enemies must acknowledge, viz. His making Twelve Peers at once, when he was in some Exigence in the Administration of Affairs; a Step, hardly ever ventured upon by any Man before him: And now what is yet more than all the rest, his Intrepidity in Standing his Ground, and hazarding himself and his Cause to any Trial, rather than give his Adversaries any Advantage over him by an ignominious Flight, when at the same Time, others, who acted under him, have

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done

done it, and not dared to stand the
 Tryal; for there is, as I have said in
 England, one Thing in the Tryals; as
 the Nobility, which, were it to be in
 any other Nation, would render their
 Case very unhappy, (viz.) that when
 they are obliged to submit to publick
 Justice, and appear to plead for their
 Lives, it may happen that many of
 those Men who give their Votes for
 their Life or Death, may be their pro-
 fessed, declared Enemies; as also others,
 who may be depending upon the Court
 for their Fortunes, by Places and
 Trusts: This would be a just Objection,
 and is even allowed in England itself,
 in the Case of any but Peers; for if a
 Jury-man is charged by the Criminal,
 for having declared himself his Enemy,
 the Exception shall be allowed; but on
 the contrary, here, the whole Body of
 Peers are Jurors, and are to give their
 Vote: Nor have the Prisoners the
 Liberty to object, or challenge any of
 them; likewise the Sovereign has a
 Power to make Lords, even out of the
 Prisoners worst Enemies, to add to the
 Number of those who shall try him; and
 may condemn him, and find him guilty, and
 Time, others, who acted under him, have
 done

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This however being the Constitution in England; he that seeks to be made a Peer, takes it with all those Disadvantages; and that alone, *over the rest of the world*, takes off all Objection, and makes the Case JUST *in his own* *him*; and indeed I think it may be said not only in this Person's Case, but almost in any other, that if all who may have professed their personal animosity, or who have been created Peers, while their Case may be depending, and all who are in Offices of Profit, from the Sovereign reign; I say, if all these were to be set by, there would be little Hazard in any Man's being brought to Trial. But this is a Digression.

The Lady who acted the other Part, as is said above, has her Character in few Words, if I may let it down from those who know her well. That she is haughty, subtle, revengeful; in a Word, one of whom those the very best ed spake much ill, and no Party much good; she made her Fortune and the Fortune of her Family in the little time she was in; and the most I could find hear of her was, that she carried off a great deal of Money.

I must own when I came to *England*, I found her necessary to the Business I came to negotiate; nor was it her Fault, if some other Things which we had in our Commission did not succeed: The *abbé GAUTIER* found her very assisting; and as we were not wanting to shew our Respect, so had she been as well assisted by the Person last spoken of as we expected, and had Reason to expect, we might have seen another End of our Negotiation, than what we did.

I cannot omit that I have heard the Dutchess exceedingly blamed for her Conduct in the Case of this Lady, and this by *her own Party*, who alledged, that had she kept up to the Queen, and come oftner to Court, not appeared dignified, and particularly not been absent from the Queen at the last; this Lady could not have supplanted her: In this Case they say, **THAT** she was not *Courtier enough*; **THAT** could she have dissembled her Resentment, and not with too much Warmth have opposed the Queen in her Humour, especially about the new Notions of Things, which,

which, as I said, the Queen had then entertained, the Queen lov'd her so well, that she would never have parted with her, and she would have had Power enough to have persuaded her Majesty against all the Attempts that could have possibly been made to supplant and disgrace her; Nay, after long Absence, and even some Unkindnesses between the Queen and her, it was said, that the Queen at her Return from Windsor to St. James's, at the End of the Summer, 1711. called for the Dutchess, and that a friendly Lady ran to the Dutchess's Apartments, and told her of it, pressing her to lay hold of the Opportunity, assuring her that she might with but one soft Word, be as well with the Queen as ever, and overthrow all her Enemies at once; But that she refused to go, tho' her Lodgings were on the same Floor with the Queen's, adding some very disrespectful Words of the Queen, and of her new Favourite; which being related to the Queen, put an End to all Manner of Affection between them, which continued to the last.

I do not set my Hand to the Particulars of this Relation, it being very

difficult for us in *France* to have an exact Account of such secret things Word for Word; but this I may set my Head to, (*viz.*) that I received this Account from such Persons, as to whom I always saw Reason to give entire Credit; if the Fact is true, I leave it with this Remark, that I think the Dutchess shewed more Honesty than Discretion.

These Things are proper to these Memoirs for this End and no other, (*viz.*) as they let us into a clear View of the first moving Springs of what followed in the State, and how all these Things tended at last to bring on that happy Negotiation, which *Europe* has Cause to rejoyce in; but which *France* in particular commemorates, as being the Means of her Deliverance from inevitable Ruin and Destruction.

Not that I believe in the least, we in *France* are under any personal Obligation for our Advantages to the primitive Designs of these Courtiers; their Design, it's evident, was the bare restoring themselves to Places in the Administration, and to the
Favour

Favour of the Queen; and could they have maintained themselves and the War too, they would have done it gladly; but a Peace with *France* was absolutely necessary to them, a War of Parties among the common People being what they foresaw would inevitably fall upon them.

Upon this Foundation, when I came first to *England*, I found them under almost as absolute a Necessity of Peace, as we were in *France*; and as we were not so weak as not to discover it, we found them weak enough also to acknowledge it; on this Account we concealed from them several Things which were in our Commission; for why should we desire them to ask more than they were inclin'd to acquiesce in? Or what should be thought of the King of *France*, to send over Agents so eager to settle a Peace, as to make Offers of more than would be asked?

But to return to the Queen, her Dissatisfactions encreasing, the Jealousies among the People encreased also; and it began to be known, that the Ministry were not so well
with

with the Queen as usual ; that there was a Breach between the Queen and the Dutchess ; that Mr. *Harley* was every Day with the Queen, and sometimes so long, as that the Ministry were not admitted for a long Time, tho' they came on Business of Importance. It was observed also, that the D—— of A——, who about this Time discovered himself to be not so well with the Duke of M—— as before, was more frequent with the Queen and with Mr. *Harley* also, and the like ; nor did the Agents of the *Tories* fail to spread these Things without Doors, as the Principals advanced within ; letting the People know, that as their Interest increased with the Queen, so their Party increased in the Kingdom.

In this Manner Things went on, till all Matters being ready, and the Queen brought over to consent, the *Coup de Grace* was given ; by dismissing the great Treasurer at once *without the Favour of a hearing* ; sending him an Order by the Master of the Horse, that he should break *his Staff* ; and with him fell the Administration of the *Whigs* for that Reign : The King must be

be thought to have lost all Concern for his own Glory and for the Interest of *France*, if on so favourable a Turn of Affairs in *England*, he had omitted to make himself be fully informed of the Particulars, or had forgot to cause them to be improved to the Advantage of his Kingdoms. NOW, if ever, there appeared a Scene for *France* to shew her Dexterity, and to cultivate the Glory of her Monarch upon the Disorders and Confusions of his Enemies.

His Majesty, tho' in a State of War, was never without trusty Servants in *England*, who were vigilant upon every Occasion to give him a true State of Things; nor did they fail upon this Occasion to give the King a clear and full Description of the new Breaches there, with the Causes of them, the Ends and Design of the Parties in them, and such Observations thereon, as were suitable to his Majesty's Affairs, and respecting the Advantages which might be made of them to our Case; at the same time soliciting earnestly that his Majesty would send over some proper Person to advise with, and to consider of Things

Things as Occasion might offer to his Interest.

I had known for some Weeks, that they had in all their Letters mov'd the King to send over some Person to reside *incognito*, to take Care of the Affairs of *France*, and I had some Apprehensions that the King would command me upon that Service; I *say Apprehensions*, because as the Nations had open War, I might have been used scurvily enough at *London*, if it had appeared that I had acted in the publick Affairs without any Character: However, I knew my Fate, and that if the King commanded it, I must take my Hazard upon the Undertaking.

As I expected, so it was not long but the King calling me to him, shew'd me the Letters he had from time to time received on this Affair, and told me, he had pitch'd upon me for that Service: *Who knows*, said his Majesty, *but you may have as good Success there as you had in Holland?* Besides, says the King, *I am of Opinion, Mr. Harley and his new Party may stand in as much Need of Peace as of Victory; and that*

that they may want me, as much as I want them.

I made no Hesitation as to the going to *England*, but told his Majesty, I thought it was a much more difficult Negotiation than that in *Holland*, and begged I might more fully peruse those Letters again, and might make my self as much Master of the Case as I could, and of his Majesty's Design in sending me, before I went.

During these Discourses, a Post from *Flanders* brought over an Express, with an Account that the Change went on; that Mr. *Harley* strook home; that he had fired the Queen against the late Managers to that Degree, that she resolved to go on; and in a Word, that the Resolution was taken to dissolve the Parliament.

It is impossible for me to describe the Transport of Joy the King was in, upon reading that Part, (*viz.*) the dissolving the Parliament; Well, says the King, if Monsieur *Harley* DOES THAT, I shall say he is *UNE HABILE HOMME*, (Note, we have

have no Word so natural in the Eng-
lish to express the King's Meaning,
and that he knows how to go through
what he has undertaken. MESNAGER,
added the King, turning to me, it is
Time you were in ENGLAND; I
could not interpose for some Time,
the King was so full of this News, and
talked so fast; sometimes to himself,
and sometimes to me, and as I was
going to speak, the King bad me at-
tend in an Hour; so I withdrew, and
the King went to another Apart-
ment; I understood afterwards, that
his Majesty went to *Madame de Main-
tenon's* Lodgings, to give her Part in
the News he had received, and per-
haps to consult with her, what Mea-
sures should be taken in this important
Juncture.

I attended at the Time, but the
King put me off again, and at length
told me, I should not go to England
yet; that he had dispatched a Courier
for the present, which would suffice;
that he would wait a little, to see
how Things went on, for he had
reserved me for *une Coup de* *celar*;
that he thought at first it might be
needful to have some Measures taken

to push the new Divisions in England, but he had some new Informations since I had seen him, and that *there was no need*, for that Things would go on there as well as he could desire, and the new Minister would stand in Need of his Assistance; that Things were already carried so far, that there was no Possibility of an Accommodation, which was the Thing that at first there was some Apprehensions of, and which it was known was in the Plan that Mr. H—— had laid, but that the Scarborough was now thrown away, and I should soon hear farther.

I understood afterwards that Monsieur T—— had received Letters from some of the new Party in England, and that Mr. H—— had sent over a private Agent, to serve him in the same Capacity here, as I was to have served at London; whether the Person sent was dup'd by our Ministers, and was easy enough to have his Business pump'd out of him, by such as were employed here, to sound and dive into his Designs, and observe every Step he took; *or, which is most likely*, that he had Orders to
give

gave us a Handle to take hold of, and
 to appear open and free as if he did
 so through his own Weakness, that
 we might know something that Way,
 which they could no other Way dis-
 close to us; I say, which of these was the
 Case, I never yet could be fully inform'd.
 But he soon gave us Room to under-
 stand, that the new Managers in Eng-
 land, when they were a little further
 entered into their Measures, would
 not be so backward as others had been
 to listen to good Proposals from France
 for a lasting Peace; that the Whigs
 were so obstinate in opposing them in
 every Step, and disputed the Ground
 so by Inches, that the new Ministry
 would not be sorry that the War
 were well off of their Hands, that
 they might turn their whole Force to
 the reducing their Enemies at home,
 and that in the mean time, they had
 made some Advances towards us,
 by which any one who made just
 Observations, might see it was not on-
 ly in their Design, but that the Ne-
 cessity of their Circumstances obliged
 them to it. That it was apparent
 they already took some Steps that Way,
 and had Agents employed to prepare

their own Nation to expect it; That on all Occasions they filled the Peoples Ears with the Tediouſneſs, Expenſiveness, and Bloodineſs of the War, laying before them the Prospect of what Happineſs would accrue by a ſafe and laſting Peace: *Books* were daily published and encouraged, containing *Reasons for putting an End to the War*; and letting the People into Notions, as if the former Managers were guilty of carrying on the War for their private Glory and Advantages; for aggrandizing the Family of C———, and for preſerving their Influence at Home, making them neceſſary to the Queen for the preſent, till at laſt, they ſhould be too great for her to diſplace: They failed not to ſuggeſt, that *England* had not had fair Play in the Management of the War; that the former Managers had been impoſed upon, or had, contrary to their Duty to the Queen, ſuffered the Allies to impoſe upon her Maſteſty in the Performance of Conditions, and Proportions, as well of Forces, as Expences in carrying on the War; ſo that the Queen had been betrayed, and her Subjects burthened beyond Meaſure in all thoſe Things, and that

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now it was Time, not only that the Treachery of these Things should be discovered and detected, and the Persons exposed; but that really they were obliged to say, it was Time to *put an End to the War it self*; for that these Things had run the Nation so far in Debt, and brought the raising the further needful Sums to be so difficult, that it was not possible, at least without further Mischiefs, *which in the End would be insupportable*, to carry the War on any further.

These Things work'd so well to our Minds in *France*, and were pushed so effectually in *England*, that our Work seemed done to our Hand, and was partly the Reason why the King altered his Mind, as to sending me to *England* at that Time: His Majesty was too penetrating, not to know that these Measures would not fail to make way for his own; and had the People in *England* concerted with him, *as I must do them the Justice to say, they did not at first*; they could have done nothing more *a propo* to our Designs; Nay, it was more so, than we expected in this, that it brought them in *England* into Circum-

cumstances, to seek that of our King, which of all other Things in the World, his Majesty was most anxious about, and which we stood in so much Necessity of, that, two Months before, the King would have given some Millions to have had it brought to pass.

But as the King foresaw now, that what he desired so much, would soon be asked of him to grant, his Majesty was too wise to push his Game too fast; but resolved to stand still a while, and see what would be the Issue of these great Events: It is true, this obliged his Majesty to run the Risque of another Campaign; and some were very uneasy at that Circumstance, especially when they heard, that notwithstanding the great Progress made in the changing the publick Ministers at Home, the Duke of M——— was still continued in the Command of the Army; indeed the King himself had some Expectations, *whether founded on certain Intelligences, or in his Majesty's own Conjectures*, that it would have been otherwise; and that when so many Mortifications had been put upon that great Person, *such we must call him*, he would either voluntarily have

declined that Service; or the other would not have ventured so much upon his Generosity, as not to have apprehended his Resentments, in a Trust of that Consequence.

However, his Majesty, who saw further into Things than any of us, and was never at a Loss in his own Measures, *resolved to venture*; and as it appeared afterwards, his Judgment was good; for tho' a Campaign were to prove unsuccessful, the Enemy could not rationally be supposed to penetrate further than *Cambray*; and the Affairs of *England* plainly told him, that if they did *hold together* for one Campaign, they would certainly *break* before another; that either the Duke of _____ would not serve another Campaign, or that they would not trust him; and so it proved.

As to the Affairs in the Field, they appeared in a better Posture than we expected: The Army was numerous, and composed of the best Troops the whole Kingdom of *France* could produce; *The Household* was filled up and finely clothed, and made the best Appearance they had at any Time done since the
fatal

fatal Battle of *Blenheim*; and as they took Post wisely on the *Scheld*, to cover *Cambray* and *Arras* at the same Time; the King ordered the *Mareschal de Villars*, who commanded them, to avoid a Battle, *if possible*, and only to lie in such a Posture, as to cover those two Cities, (*viz.*) *Cambray* and *Arras*, and that then the Duke of M—— might do his worst.

The *Mareschal* so well discharged himself of this Trust, that he *not only* avoided fighting, but did effectually cover those two Places; so that the Confederate Army, tho' much superior, never could come near them, and were glad to finish what they call'd a *glorious Campaign*, with the Siege and taking of *Bouchain*; a little Place of small Consideration, and which we retook from them again the next Year, in half the Time they took it now.

As the King was not mistaken in his venturing another Campaign, so neither was he mistaken in his Calculation of the Affairs of *England*, and of the Advantage which he should draw from them by waiting a little longer.

And here I must go back to the State of the Affairs in *England*, with Respect to the *new Managers*, particularly as to their Interest in the Change, and to the Views they had before them at that Time; it is certain, that Mr. *H*— after all the Machines he had set to Work, in forming this Turn at the Court, when he perswaded the Queen to dismiss the *Treasurer*, did not let her see, neither did he see himself, the Necessity there was for her to go so far as she afterwards found her self obliged to go: *For Example*, he let her believe, as indeed many other People believed, (*viz.*) that after the *Treasurer* was out, and a few of his Creatures and Dependents, the rest of the publick People would soon acquiesce, and be glad to come into her Majesty's Measures, and so Things might go on, just as they did before; which was certainly the utmost of his first Scheme.

Indeed it was very rational to think, that People, who had good Posts in the Government, and no Fortune of their own, should have considered of it before they had thrown up all the Advantages they enjoyed; *but so it was*, as soon

soon as the Treasurer was turned out, *the Whigs* who were at Court gave him a Meeting, *and there*, as it was said, solemnly engaged to one another, that they would one and all stand hard and fast together, and resolve to accept of no Proposals which contained any Thing less than the restoring them all to their Posts; and this they performed with ill Nature enough, the Chancellor, the Secretaries, and all the rest, obliging the Queen to dismiss them all.

This, tho' indeed it did by no Means alter the Measures of the new Managers in the main, *and only obliged them to make use of other Hands, than they proposed at first*; yet it was a great Disappointment to Mr. H—— who, as he was not of the Opinion, that the *Tories* were the properest Men to carry on the publick Business, so neither did he think they would come in, *to so compleat a Rule of Management as he had intended*; for his Design was to have formed a middle Party of NEUTERS, that should have acted by his Schemes, and under Direction, *as Wheels in a Watch*, perfectly passive, except *as wound up*, or *screwed down* by the Engineer, *who was to be himself*; when therefore the *Whigs*

opposed him so warmly, he was driven to the Necessity of embracing the *Tory Party*, at the Hazard of being obliged to submit in many Things to their Measures, instead of having them submit to his; nor did he find the *Tories* at first so ready to fall in with him as he expected, at least not upon general Terms of Subordination to his Measures; on the contrary, they offered different Schemes, from what he had proposed, raised Difficulties and Scruples against his *neutral Schemes*, which they called by a Word of their own, TRIMMING, and in that Case they judged much better than he did, (*viz.*) that by coming wholly into a *Tory Administration*, the whole Body of the *High Church* would be entirely with them, who, in Conjunction with the Court, would be so much too strong for the *Whigs*, as to leave them no Room, so much as to struggle; but that while they drove at a separate and mixt Interest, the *Tories* would come in but warily and slowly; and as the *Whigs* were immoveably fixt against him, he would never be able to carry his Point.

It was however impossible to move him, who was so fond of his own Schemes,

Schemes, till the Course of Things brought it about by halves, and by a Kind of Force upon him; This Obstinacy was the Ruin of all his Designs, and of his Party too, and will at last, if I mistake not, bring him and his Friends to fall into the Hands of their implacable Enemies the *Whigs*: When he found the *Tories* thus stiff and backward, he stopped his Hand, and tried by the *Queen* her self, to bring over some of the *Whig* Lords to come in: The *Queen* assured them, and spoke at that Time with great Sincerity, that she intended no further Alterations; that she designed no Change of Measures, and *above all*, she protested that she had not the least Thought of altering the Succession: Some of the *Whig* Lords, were irritated on another Account, and seemed to give too positive a Denial; but the most politick listen'd to the Proposal, and offered to come into the Measures, on but two Conditions, (*viz.*) *That they would not dissolve the Parliament*, and 2. *That Mr. H—— might be laid aside*; The last of these the *Queen* would not hear of, and the first *Mr. H——* could not be perswaded too; and this Step was the Foundation of all that followed.

And

And now Mr. *H*——— was cast entirely upon the *Tories*, and yet so impossible it is for politick Men to part with their own *Schemes*, that he never so entirely came into them, as to take *their Measures wholly*; nor did they ever come in so far to him, as to believe him *entirely their Friend*; and this mutual Distrust and Dislike drove hundreds from him, increased his Opposers, and divided the whole Party.

At the present however Mr. *H*———, being the Spring of the Administration, went on his own Way; and the *Whigs* having refused to act, he took in the Earl of *Rocheſter*: This was a Step which alarmed the *Whigs* very much, and they might from that Time be ſure they ſhould have no more Applications made to them; and indeed they acted from that Time as Men who were neither to give or take Quarter; The Earl of *Rocheſter* was a Man, who, of all Men in the Intereſt of the *Tories*, was really the moſt capable of a high Station without Danger of Miſcarriage; and that having been once *Treaſurer* in the Reign of *King James*, was fully acquainted with the Buſineſs; a Perſon capable

capable of great Things, a Man of Council and of Dispatch, a most punctual Observer of his Word, and free from the ordinary, *I had almost said*, necessary Qualification of a Courtier, (*viz.*) *Disimulation*: But as this Sincerity was his peculiar, so it brought with it this Consequence, that to whom he was a Friend, he was so openly; and to whom he was an Enemy, he was so with the same Openness and without Disguise; This had led him into some Inconveniencies in the former Years of the Queen's Reign, and made some little *demeles* between the Queen and himself, to whom he was personally related, being what we call in *France*, *une de ses Parents*, for her Majesty was the Daughter of his younger Sister: His Freedom and Plainness had been ill taken, and he had withdrawn from Court for some Time; yet his Appearance on all Occasions in the House of Parliament, added continually to his Reputation, and caused him to be a Leader of many; he was esteemed hot, and indeed fierce against the *Whiggish* Councils, but always courteously and handsomely familiar with their Persons, yet never so, but that they might know he was not in their Interest; he had a
true

true Notion of the Strength of the contending Parties in *England*, and appeared more chagrin in his Discourses on that Head, *that the few should guide the many*, than at any other Part of the Management: He was in Years, yet had a perfect use of all the Endowments of Mind, which Nature had bestowed on him; he had a vast Stock of Knowledge, and a Memory retentive of all that ever was committed to it; he kept his Head continually exercised on the Administration, tho' he had no Hand in it; and could tell the Ministers the History of their Conduct something better than they knew it themselves; and particularly he was Master of all their *Faux Pas*, or Mistakes, and could lead them to the very Reasons and Occasions of those Things; he was rigidly strict in his Opinion as to the Legality of the *British* Settlement, and openly profess'd, that the Revolution had made such a Breach in the Constitution, as would justify Revolutions of every Kind, how often soever they might happen; and that it was impossible, according to the Revolution Doctrine, *as it was then called*, that there could ever be any Rebellion in *Great Britain*.

It

It was the greatest Trial of his Sincerity that could be, that the Queen, who was, as above, his near Relation, and for whom he had always a profound Respect; yet could never engage him to act heartily for her, because he esteemed her Reign an Usurpation upon the House of *Stuart*, and he fail'd not to let her know it in the plainest and openest Manner that became his Quality, tho' with the Decency also that became her Person.

It delivered us in *France* from some Anxieties about these Affairs, when we heard that Mr. *H——* had taken this noble Person into the Management; for the King was very much concerned, lest Mr. *H——* should put himself into worse Hands: It must be acknowledged therefore, that had the Whigs been less averse to Mr. *H——*, it would not have been so much to our Satisfaction; for unless they had been wholly laid aside, we had nothing to expect from *England*; on the other Hand, neither would it have been for our present Purpose, if Mr. *H——* should have carried his Point without the vigorous Opposition of the Whigs;
for

for then it was very probable that the Ministry might have cajoled the People with the Notion of letting them see, that *notwithstanding the Change*, Things run on in the same Channel, and perhaps might have made their Interest among the People, at the Expence of *France*; I mean at the *Expence of continuing the War*; and for this Reason, there could be no News more welcome to our Court, than that the Whigs having rejected the Proposals made to them, the Chancellor was laid aside, and the Earl of *Rochester* brought into the Council, of which he was soon after made *President*.

On the other Hand, we received some Allay to our Satisfaction, when we were told by our Spyes, that Mr. *H—*, at his treating with the Earl of *Rochester*, had shewed him all his Schemes, that he had approved them, declared for what they called moderate Measures, and promised to *give into* the Method proposed, and to make no Breach in the Councils, on any private Opinion: when this was told the King, *his Majesty smiled*, and said, fear nothing from my Lord *Rochester*, I know him better than any of you, there could not be a Man in that Court, that will so well hold Mr. *H—*

to the Terms he makes ; he must break no Conditions with the Earl of *Rochester*, and he will keep none with any Man else.

From the Introduction of this one Person, the King had a full Satisfaction, and often declared it, that not only the great Point of ending the War would be obtained, but that he should one time or other have as effectual an Influence on the Affairs of *Britain* as ever, and by Consequence be in a Condition to restore the banished *Chevalier* by the Consent of the *British Nation*.

These were remote Prospects, and such as no Person was capable of forming Ideas of, at so great a Distance, but a King, whose Soul was equal to all the Labyrinths and Meanders in the Politicks of all the Nations round him, and who fixed in his View, and made present to him the rational Deductions that others thought themselves very early in, if they formed the same several Years afterward.

There was but one Thing in which the King might be said to fail as to his Judgment of the Consequences of these Things, and that neither his Majesty
or

or all the Sages of the Earth could arrive to, (*viz.*) that in a very few Months after this, and before any of the Product of these deep Councils could take Place, the Earl of *Rochester*, that truly great Man! was seized with an Apoplectick Fit, and died suddenly; to the great Regret of all who knew the Excellencies his Soul was furnished with, and how he was just at the Point of exerting himself in a most extraordinary Manner.

No Man in the World, upon Principles so generous and truly great, was capable of being equally sensible of the Loss of this one Man, as was the King himself: *Rochester dead!* says the King, *then there is not a Man of Probity and Council equal to him, left in the World!* All his Majesty's Measures were immediately changed upon this Incident, and then it was that the King called me to him the *second time*, and bad me prepare my self immediately to go to *England*, and asked me how soon I should be ready. I told *his Majesty*, I was always ready to execute his Commands; and if his Service required it, I would send for my Boots, and take Horse at the Gate of *Versailles* that very Hour: NO, says

says the King; *not in such a Hurry*, but see me to Morrow, and you shall have further Instructions; which I did accordingly, and was then dispatched to *England* for the first Time: Perhaps to many in *France* it may not be known to this Day, that I was over in *England* at all upon this Occasion; neither is there need to say any Thing but this, that as the concealing my Business was of the utmost Importance, so unless the King told it, and his Majesty best knew to whom it was fit to be known; it was not known by any by my Means, no not to my own Servants or Family, to whom I gave out that I was going to *Fountainbleau*, to direct some Additions which his Majesty had ordered in the Apartments there.

I arrived at *London* the of 1710. taking all possible Measures for keeping my self entirely concealed, according to my Instructions; and therefore I placed my self for a while at a private Lodging remote from the Court, and kept out of the Way of all general Appearances of the People, least I should be known: At my coming to *England*, I first made it my Business to acquaint my self with such Particulars of the
F publick

publick Transactions, as we had not the Detail of from our private Agents; and as I am minuting what I observed of the Earl of *Rochester's* coming into the Administration; it is necessary to take Notice, *as I go on*, that as soon as the Whigs had rejected the Queen's Offer, except on the Conditions above, which Conditions the Queen would not submit to, and that the Earl of *Rochester* was consulted; two Things followed, which, 'tis evident, were the Effects of his good Councils, (*viz.*) the *dismissing the Chancellor*, and the dissolving the *Parliament*; the last he was so positive in, that I was assured he would come into no Measures without it, and declared long before he came in, that nothing could be done without that Step was first taken; and as an Evidence of my being in the right in this Guess, it is to be observed, that he was declared Lord President of the Council in *England*, and the Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament, was resolved on in *one and the same Day*, (*viz.*) the 21 of *September*, 1710. it is true the Proclamation was not published till the 26th, but that alters not the Case.

The Wisdom of this Council appeared to us in *France* much clearer than it did even

even to the *Tories* themselves in *England*; and when the King heard that some of the new Managers were inclined to give up that Point to the *Whigs*, his Majesty said, that certainly they could not be so ignorant, after all the Testimonies they had given of their Penetration; for the *Whigs* having a Majority in the Parliament, would not fail to oppress them in the Administration, and bring the Queen to the Necessity of parting with them again, if not of giving them up to the Resentment of their Enemies.

When I came to *England*, and to examine a little into these Things, I found that the Inclination to give up this Point to the *Whigs* proceeded chiefly from the Notion, which not Mr. *H* only, but even the Queen her self, had entertained, of carrying on what they then called a *moderate Administration*, and keeping several of the Heads of the *Whigs* in their Employment; but it was afterwards confess'd, that this Notion, in the Queen especially, proceeded not from any Affection she bore to the *Whigs* in particular, for she had many Reasons not to love them, or be pleas'd with their Management of her Affairs;

but from the Apprehensions she had upon her, of her not being able to get a Majority of others chosen in their Room.

Mr *H*——, who had Opinion enough of his own Conduct to have master'd these Apprehensions, was willing enough to let it go there *at first*; but when the Earl of *Rocheſter* came to be conſulted, he laughed both at the Apprehenſions of one, and the Politicks of the other; He told the Queen, that as there was a Neceſſity of the Attempt on one Hand, ſo there was no Danger of its miſcarrying on the other; That it was never known by him, ſince the Court came into a right Management, that they could not *have* a Parliament, or *make* a Parliament to their Purpoſe; That while the Clergy were all in her Inter-eſt, and it was in her to put all her Friends in Commiſſions of the Peace, of the Lieutenancy, and of the Receipt of the Revenues; ſhe could not fear being overpower'd in Elections: He let her Ma-jesty ſee in what Manner every Prince, who had not carried the Elections to their Mind, had miſtaken; and that it was only for want of Money, or want of Management, that ever the Court and
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the Parliament failed to be all of a Piece: That he would answer for it with his Head, that if her Majesty kept the Parliament on Foot, *which was then in being*, she would fail of her Design, see all her faithful Servants ruined, and be in no Posture to protect them; and he would answer for it at the like Peril, that if she dissolved them, she should not fail of making a new Choice to her Mind. He convinced Mr. H——, that his courting the Whigs was the greatest Mistake imaginable; that he might see plainly they contemned it, and him the more for it, and made use of it to fortifie their Party, and raise innumerable Scandals upon his Character; that he lost Ground even with the Whigs themselves by it, and at the same time kept the Tories at a Distance, and in Suspence; so that they could not resolve whether to join him, or not to join him; because they could never resolve whether he would be with them or no; that this halting between two would ruin them; that they ought to declare themselves boldly and openly, their Friends would then depend upon them, and even their Enemies would own their Honesty, at the same time

that they would see Reason to despair of breaking in upon their Measures.

Tho' it was impossible to remove Mr. *H* from that opiniative Value for his own Schemes, which he had been famous for, or to leave off that trimming which has lost him so much with both Parties; yet overcome with the Reason and Authority of the President's arguing, *so I now call him*, he came into the Measures for dissolving the Parliament, to the general Satisfaction of all the Tories, and more to the Satisfaction of our Nation, and of the King in particular; *as I have noted already*; for now his Majesty was assured they would go thro' with the Work, and that the Whigs and new Ministry were placed at such Distance and opposite Extremes as to Interest, that it would be impracticable to attempt any middle Way between them.

Nor were we deceived in these Measures at all; for as the new Elections came forward, the Animosities increased, and it was with an inexpressible Pleasure that we, who were *incognito* in every Corner, saw the Rabbles and Tumults among the common People, *which*
England,

England, *above all other Nations, is eminently known by, carryed on with all the Violence and Brutality that could be desir'd, even to the insulting one another upon the most ordinary Occasions.*

The *English* common People, among the many good Qualities which some of them may possess, are a furious and brutal People, especially in their private Quarrels; and it would be the strangest Thing in the World, among polite Nations, to see such Things practis'd as are frequent among them in *Britain*; In their Discourses of publick Affairs, 'tis next to impossible to have any mix'd Company agree; and as they differ, they fail not to give all the abusive, unsufferable Words to one another that are to be thought of, and yet they do not call this a Quarrel; there would be more Bloodshed in *London* in a Year, than was at the Battle of *Malplaquet*, were any other Nation in the World to quarrel as the *English* do: *Frenchmen* would draw their Swords and pass thro' one another's Souls, at half the ill Treatment these give, even before they are said to begin to be angry: Were it in *Holland*, how many

Faces full of Scars would appear on the *Exchange*? How many slit Noses, Fingers cut off, and the like scarrifying Work, would there be with their Knives on these Occasions? But here, a foul Tongue has a full Liberty to abuse every Man absent or present; the Language of Rogue, Villain, Rascal, &c. is reciprocal, and is both given and received without Resentments; the highest Quality is not free from the Raillery and Insults of the Coffee-houses, and the Streets; and when I came to understand a little of the *English* Tongue, I was amazed to hear the great Lords of the Court, the Ministers of State, and especially Mr. H——, then High Treasurer, called Rogues, Villains, Thieves, &c. and the Friends of the Government, as well as those of the former Treasurer, damn'd and curs'd to Hell, by the several Parties in their ordinary Discourse, and in the common Companies in every Coffee-house; and yet no Quarrel all the while among the People who did so.

As this was the Way in Conversation, it made the Society of such Men very odious, and we that were *Frenchmen* blessed our selves that we were of

of a Nation accustomed to better Breeding, and where the Laws of Reason and good Manners had more prevailed to civilize the People and restrain their Passions: But if this was indeed strange to us, who had been used to converse among a Nation of politer Manners, the Behaviour of the Canaille was yet more brutal and even terrible: It is impossible to describe the Fury and Terror of their Rabbles; were you to see two Armies of them march against one another in the Night, and in the Streets of *London*, armed with Clubs and Sticks, you would expect nothing less when they meet, than the killing several hundreds at the Shock; instead of which, you find it all issue in roaring and foul Language, shouting out the Names of the Heads of their Parties, throwing Dirt, and perhaps a few broken Heads, so they call it when any one bleeds; and then they part and go down other Streets, or return back shouting as if they had gained the most important Victory: If on these Occasions they came to real fighting, it seldom or never amounted to more than several single Fellows grappling together after the savage Way of that Island; in which they do
not

not use Weapons as other Nations always have done, since the Creation of the World; but fall upon one another; tearing, bruising, and battering one another with their Hands, Heads, and Feet, as wild Beasts do with their Claws and Teeth, now standing on their Feet, anon rousing in the Dirt; till covered with Blood and Mire, and rather wearied than wounded, they give over by Consent, or are parted by their Fellows; and then perhaps, other Couples taking up the same Quarrels, and beginning always with a Shower of vile and provoking Language, fall on one another in the same Manner.

This was the frequent Practice in that Country, the most Part of the Time that I was among them; and tho' they are a Nation otherwise agreeable enough, and who by their Wealth and Luxury are arrived to a Way of living easie, and are in many Things a happy People; yet those Exercises greatly expose them, and made their very Name my Aversion; so that I thought my self more happy than ever, when I was returned to *France*, where Men live in a Manner
much

much more agreeable to the Ends of Life, and the Temper and Constitution of reasonable Creatures, enjoying a perfect Tranquillity of Soul, in the most courteous, affable Conversation, and the undistinguish'd Practice of mutual Civility.

But to return to my Story : The Elections of their Members, or Deputies of Parliament, were in their Height soon after my Arrival there ; and as the Names of the Persons chosen came to be known, the Court appeared a little chagrin, for that the Number of the Whigs, who were first chosen, seem'd to be very much beyond their Expectation ; especially in that the Whigs boasted that their chief Strength lay in the Western or Northern Part of the Island, particularly the Provinces or Shires of *Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts,* &c. Places needless to name here, but which are generally called among them the *West-Country*, tho' in Truth, they are scituated in the *South-West* Part of the Island ; here they depended much on the Interest of the former Treasurer the Earl of *Godolphin*, and some of his Dependencies, who had formerly secured that Part of the Country, much
in

in his Interest, being himself a Native of the Province of *Cornwal*, from whence they sent up no less than 44 Deputies to the Parliament.

But I must do this Justice to Mr. *H—*, (*viz.*) that if he was not so resolved at first in the Measures taken, *that is to say*, for the dissolving the Parliament, yet he left no Stone unturned in the managing the Elections, after he was come into it; and that he did this so effectually, and with so much Judgment and Success, that even the *Earl of Godolphin* lost almost all the Elections in that, which was call'd *his own Country*: There was not a Town where his Interest was strong, but he saw himself supplanted, and an Interest form'd to oppose and overthrow him; *the like Success* was seen in other Parts; and in a Word, it appeared that he had laid his Measures so true, and was served so punctually, that at the summing up of the Numbers, the Whigs saw themselves distanc'd, and out-numbered in a surprising Manner, as to the Deputies of their lower Parliament: As to the upper Parliament, or upper House, as they term it, he had his Eye so intent upon that also, was so vigilant in taking his Advantages, and so dextrous in improv-
ing

ing them, that he carried his Point there also; as I shall note in its Place.

It is significant to observe, how little these People differ from us in *France*, in the Effect of an absolute Monarchy, after all the Boasts they make of their Liberty, the Subordination of their Kings to the Sovereignty of the Laws, the ancient Rights of the People, which they call their Birthright, &c. seeing by the Power of Court Artifice, the Influence of Money, and the Management of subtle Statesmen, the People are always made Tools to operate in their own Bondage; and to enthrall themselves, either to this, or that Party, or Prince, as effectually, as if the said Prince had them under his absolute Direction; Nay, in this also, the Prince has the Advantage, (*viz.*) that this is done so by the Agency of the Ministers, that the Tyranny is always charged upon them, and the Prince is not blamed; and if ever the Power of the Law gets an Interval to exert it self, it is the Minister who bears the Resentment, not the Sovereign; of whom no more is desired, but to change Hands, and all things are quiet in a Moment: It's true that it has been otherwise, as in the Example of King *James*; but the Reason of all that Difference

Difference lay in the impolitick Measures of the Prince, who espoused his Ministers to his own Ruine, and took the whole upon himself: But wise Princes in that Country have no more to do, but to let their Ministers subject the Constitution to the absolute Will of the Sovereign, by the insensible Degrees abovementioned, and the *English* are as easily made Slaves as other Nations; Nay, they will make themselves Slaves, for they will sell and betray their own Liberties and Rights for Money; as they effectually do, who sell their Votes in the Choice of the Deputies of Parliament: And it is most certain, that such is the Blindness and Unconcernedness of the People of that obstinate Nation, and so far are they from having any Notion of the Circumstances of their Constitution, that whatever Ministry comes in Play, and will wisely dispose such Sums of Money as are necessary for the Work, they shall not want a Parliament to their Minds; who may give up to them all those valuable Rights that a Nation can possess, who have the best Constitution in the World.

Upon the whole, the *English* are a Nation, who talk high of their Liberty, and of the Government being qualified to

to make the Monarch great and the People happy; but are in Truth as easily enslaved, and reduced to irretrievable Bondage, were they politickly managed, as any Nation in the World; and it is evident, had King *James* proceeded by due Gradations, and with moderate Management of that Power, which he had assumed, and left the Article of the *Catholick Religion* out of his first Schemes; he might in a few Years have revers'd the whole Constitution of that Country, and have made himself, even by their own Consent, as absolute a Monarch, not as the King of *France* only, but as the *Grand Seignior*, or the *Czar of Muscovy*; and by this Method he might at last have planted the *Catholick Religion* there also, and have transplanted the Hereticks to what Part of the World he had pleased; but he precipitated himself into Ruin by that Weakness, which our *August Monarch* was never in Danger of: I mean, by being guided by the Clergy, rather than by the Soldiery; and setting up the Interest of the Church, before he had secured that of the State; This Observation is foreign to my Minutes of Fact, but is left here for my own Improvement on other Occasions.

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The Parliament being thus chosen, and being, happily for the new Ministry made up for the greatest Part of their own Friends, the rest of their Work went on with the more Ease, and the Whigs began to see too late, that the Change would stand; which indeed they never could be perswaded till now to think there was any Danger of; yet to do them Justice, they never gave it over, but offered the new Ministry all the Opposition, nay, even to insult and affront that was possible; The not justly resenting of which, was the weakest Step that the new Managers ever took, and shew'd either too great a Contempt of their Enemies, or too great a Security and Neglect of themselves; both which are capital Errors in State Conduct, and in the End did them inexpressible Injury.

This is a Mistake we never see made in *FRANCE*, where, from the Justice of the King, his Ministers are protected from such scurvy Usage, and empowered to shew a quick Resentment on every just Provocation; by which Means, evil Men are aw'd from taking the Liberty of insulting Magistrates and Great Officers of State, and the Authority of those who are honoured by the King
with

With the high Trust of his publick Affairs, is duly supported; but in *England* it is not so: A *Vallet* to any Man of Quality in *France*, would not receive from any Citizen of *Paris*, that ill Usage which the Men of the first Degree of Dignity on both Sides in *England*, received every Day, while I was there, from the Mouths of the Citizens, and of the common People over that whole Kingdom; a Practice, which, as it seems to me to be a peculiar to *England*, and not practised to that Degree in any other Nation, cannot be spoken of but as a Reproach to the whole Country, and must be an unaccountable Example of Neglect of themselves in the Ministry at that Time, who were not without Means to have resented it, at the Expence of the Persons who were concerned; and I have heard since my Return to *France*, that they have been made very sensible of that Mistake.

I take this Interval to give these Observations a Place, because at this Time the publick Affairs received a great Interruption from an unhappy Accident which fell out soon after my arriving at *London*, (*viz.*) on the 19th of *March* 17th. when by *une scelerate Francois*, a *French* Miscreant, the Count *Guiscard*,
 G Monsieur

Monfieur *Harley*, who though he had placed himfelf in no other Station, than one of the Commissioners of the Finances or Treasury, yet was the original Spring and firft Mover in all thefe new Schemes, was affaffinated and flabb'd into the Breaft with a Penknife at the Council Board, where that Wretch was brought to be examined.

I fhall minute nothing concerning this Cafe, which is made fully publick in *England*; But by this they may take Notice in *England*, how good Judges we are of Men in *France*; and believe they have Reason to be wary how they entertain any, who the wifeft Prince on Earth, *than whom none ever fees further into the Merit of Men*, has determin'd to be worthlefs, and not fit to be employed; Such was *Monfieur Guiscard*, whose Name is deteftable, and his History not worth enquiring after; and of whom I need fay no more than this, that being wounded in the Refiftance he made when he was feized upon by the Officers attending, he died in Prison before he could be legally put into the Hands of the Executioner.

This added to the Length of Time, which, as I have obferved, the King took to let the Changes in the Court of *England*

England operate of themselves; and though I acknowledge that I several Times moved his Majesty by Letters, and even importuned him, to make some Motion to the *English* Court, towards an Accommodation of the Broils of *Europe*; yet I always received this Answer from the King, *Pas encore! Gardez Vous! Not yet, have Patience*; which I mention, in Honour to the Judgment the King at a Distance made of Things, even so much better than I could, tho' upon the Spot.

For a little Time soon convinced me, that the *English* Court would, by the Animosity of Parties, do the Work for us, and open a Door for that, which no other Incident could have brought to pass; but it was my Wonder, that the King should see it so long before me.

The Season for Preparations was now, and the Season for taking the Field approached; and I was very anxious about the next Campaign. The Duke of *M*—— continued in the Command of the Army; whether it was the Queen's Kindness to, and Confidence in him, or the Dissatisfaction and Disaffection it might have occasioned among the Allies, I do not resolve: But there seemed an irreconcilable Feud between him and the Duke of *A*——, a Scotch Nobleman of
 G 2 rising

rising Fame, and as full of Ambition as of Merit.

The Duke of *A*—— in Birth and Blood was beneath no Man in that Queen's Court, and by his Gallantry in the Field, had obtained the Fame, not only of a Man personally brave, but of a very good Officer; he had too much of the *Scots-man* in him, to submit to any Man more than he could not help; and too much Sense, to be wanting to his Ambition; he had several Ways, for some time past, let it be known, that he did not think himself well used by the Duke of *M*——, and it was not doubted but, upon the first Occasion that offered, he would let it be known also that he knew how to resent it: It began to be seen that on all Occasions he was building upon the Ruins of his Rival; and having no other Way to act at that Time, he joins in with a Party, who, on the very same Foundation of Disgust at the Duke of *M*——, moved to an Enquiry into the Conduct of the Affairs of the War in *Spain*.

It fell out very happily for *France*, that at the very Time when this Contest began, the Queen received Advice that the Duke *de Vendosme*, at the Head of the *French* and *Spanish* Army, had surrounded

rounded the *English* Troops at *Briheuga*, and taken them all Prisoners of War, with their Generals *Stanhope*, *Carpenter*, &c. and had after this pushed Count *Starembergh* with the Army of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, to the Necessity of fighting at *Villa Vicosa* in *Spain*, and had obtained a compleat Victory.

To restore this, the Queen appeared very vigorous, and the Parliament joining with it, warm Resolves were taken on all Sides for the carrying on the War with VIGOUR; a Phrase the *English* had been very fond of, and the Clause was added thus, *especially in Spain*.

Nothing could have been more *a propos* to his Majesty's Intentions, who would have been very glad to see the Weight of the War removed from *Flanders*, where it lay too heavy indeed for all France to support; and to have it carried into *Spain*, where every 10000 Men the Confederates carried into the Field, must cost them as much as 40000 Men in *Flanders*, and where they would soon have been weary of the War: Now we began to see that the King's Measures were just, and that his Majesty had nothing to do, but to sit still and wait, while the *English*, by their Divisions,
G 3 Breaches,

Breaches, and Quarrels, would do all this Work to his Hand.

This carrying on the War *Especially* in Spain, became now the Parry-Word in *England*; the Queen opened the new Parliament with a Speech, wherein she has this Expression: *The carrying on the War in all its Parts, but particularly in Spain, with the utmost Vigour, is the likeliest Means, with God's Blessing, to procure a safe and honourable Peace.*

I had the Curiosity, as a Stranger, and *incognito*, to get in among the Croud to their Parliament House, when the Queen made this Speech; and nothing could be a more agreeable Surprize to me, than to hear those Words: I knew this would do our Work at once, for we had nothing to fear on that Side; and indeed, as I learn'd since my Return, the Word was a Kind of Jest or Diversion to all *France* for some Weeks.

Their Mirth was increased, when they had sent them the Address or Compliment, usually returned by the Nobility to the Sovereign on such Occasions. The Words were echo'd back to the Queen thus, (*viz.*) *We conceive it to be of the highest Importance to carry on the War with VIGOUR in all its Parts, but especially in Spain:*
When

When the King read this in a Letter wherein I sent an Account, he laughed heartily, *Ouy Messieurs*, says the King, *il et de tres grand Importance aux France*; Yes, Gentlemen, it will be of the highest Importance to *France*, if you please but to carry on the War, *especially in Spain*: The Commons or Deputies of the Lower House, had the very same Words; *We shall study to carry on the War with Vigour, especially in Spain*; all this was in *December*, and they soon found an Occasion suitable; for on the 2^d of *January*, the Queen received the News of the taking her Troops in *Brheuga*, and the Loss of the Battle at *Villa Vicoso*, mentioned above; all which News, as it was known in *France* before they had it in *England*, the King took Care they should hear of it as soon as possible.

Things going on thus agreeably for us, it is not to be wondered that the King, with all the Satisfaction imaginable, resolved to wait the Event of another Campaign in *Flanders*; not forgetting at the same Time to send express Orders to the Duke de *Vendosme*, to push the Enemy with all possible Vigour, which he failed not to do.

This Notion of *especially in Spain*, as it was really in it self the most absurd Thing, *speaking as an English Man*, which that Nation could have entered upon; So, on the other Hand, *speaking as a French Man*, it was the most opportune and seasonable Folly that ever our Enemies could have been taken in; and nothing was more astonishing to us, than that it could be possible the *English* Ministry should go voluntarily into such a Snare: The King was so surpriz'd, that he began to think it was the Effect of my secret Management in *England*, and said to a certain Person of Quality, that had an Esteem for me, that he had been very well serv'd in *England*; upon which that Person took Occasion to felicitate me in very obliging Terms: But alas! I had no Claim to any of the Praise, nor had I so much as made any of my Acquaintance yet in *England*, much less begun any Negotiation: But all this was the Produce of personal Enmity at the Glory of the Duke of M——, and was laid as a Train to blow up his Interest at Court; but whether it answered their End in *England* or not, yet we have Reason to remember how well it answered ours in *France*, and how many Ways

Ways it served us here: And the King failed not to make his Advantage of it first; tho' it did not much lessen or weaken the Confederate Army in *Flanders*, nor remove the Duke from the Command; yet it lessen'd his Interest in general; it dispirited his Friends, turned many against him, and gave him less Esteem, tho' not less Authority in the Army; likewise it was naturally the Occasion of great Contention in their Parliament: The *Whigs* undertook to prove, that the only Way to recover *Spain*, was to push the War on in *Flanders*, where they had the Superiority of Strength, and where they had made already such Progreſs, as had been very threatening to *France* it self, and where, if the War was carried on with a little more Success, they said there was a Probability of penetrating *France*, and breaking thro' into the open Country, where at least they should live at the King of *France*'s Expence; in which Case it was not to be doubted, but *Spain* would be given up to save *France*.

This was a sad Truth to us, and we were very sorry to find that any Men in *England* had so right a Notion of it; And here begun my first acting in the Interest

Interest of my Country; which I did, tho' with the greatest Privacy, yet with no small Success; for getting the Knowledge of a certain capable Person, by Means of a *French* Printer, and the Help of some Money rightly placed; I furnished some Arguments to set forth the Strength of the *French* Frontiers, the Impossibility of finishing the War by taking Towns one or two in a Year; and the certain lengthning out the War by that Method, till *England* should be impoverished, and the Trade ruined; and these with other Arguments being put together, the Person I speak of form'd very happily indeed, and published in Print; and such was the Dexterity of this Author, that he put the same Arguments into several Forms, Printing now one Tract, then another: These Books did us exceeding Service, and made a great Noise at that Time in *London*; But of this I shall make further Observations.

I must confess, however, that what the Whigs said at that Time, of our Danger by the War in Flanders, was very true; Why else did we make so many Attempts to obtain a Treaty, and put an End to it, and offer that King Philip should quit Spain and the Indies

Indies to obtain a Peace? But the other Party gave it a new Turn, they cast it all back upon the Duke of *M*— and his Friends, as if they were of that Opinion, only to justify their past Conduct, and aggrandize and enrich themselves by the Command; and thus it became a Party Quarrel; in which it was evident, the Court supported the Duke of *A*—, on Purpose to mortify the Duke of *M*— and the Whigs.

This Quarrel was not only happy for us, but that Happiness was increased by the Appearance we saw, that there was no Probability of its being closed; and that it might grow wider and wider. I applied my self to my most ingenious Writer of Pamphlets. The great Thing I desired of him now was, that he would publish something if possible, for I acknowledge I could not procure one Word to assist in it, to prove to the People the Reasonableness of pushing the War on in *Spain*, rather than in *Flanders*.

Those Writers of Pamphlets in *England*, are the best People of the kind that are any where to be found; for they have so many Turns to impose upon their People, that nothing I have met with was ever like it, and the People of *England*,

England, of all the People I have met with, are the fondest of such Writings; My Writer had an excellent Talent, and Words enough, and was as well qualified to prove non-Entities to contain Substance, and Substance to be entirely Spirituous, as any one I have met with; I was no Judge of his Style, having but little of the Tongue; but as I kept him entirely private, I found the People always eager to read what he wrote, and frequently his Books were said to be written by one great Lord, or one eminent Author or other; and this made them be more called for at the Book-sellers than ordinary, and the Man gained by the Sale, besides what I allow'd to him, which was not inconsiderable: It was a great Disappointment to me, in some other Views I had at that Time, that this Man fell sick and died: I attempted once or twice to furnish myself with another, but could never get one like him, except a certain Person, who the *Swedish* Resident, Monsieur *Lyencroon*, recommended, and who wrote an excellent Tract in our Interest, entitled, *Reasons why this Nation (meaning England) ought to put an End to this expensive War, &c.* I was extremely pleased with that Piece, tho' I could not read it distinctly, and for that Reason had

had it translated into *French*, and caused it to be Printed at *St. Omer* in *Flanders*, and dispersed thro' the *Low Countries*, and at *Paris*, for the publick Information of our own People. Monsieur *Lyencroon* used his Endeavour to bring this Author into my Measures; and to facilitate the Thing, I caused an hundred Pistols to be conveyed to him, as a Compliment for that Book, and let him know, it came from a Hand that was as able to treat him honourably, as he was sensible of his Service; But I missed my Aim in the Person, tho' perhaps the Money was not wholly lost; for I afterwards understood that the Man was in the Service of the State, and that he had let the Queen know of the hundred Pistols he had received; so I was obliged to sit still, and be very well satisfied that I had not discovered my self to him, for it was not our Season yet.

This Kind of secret Negotiation was now the most of our Employ in *London*, where, with my self, there was now no less than five secret Agents of *France* employed, as well to listen into every Thing that was doing in Publick, as to infuse proper Notions into the Minds of the People who we were among, as we had Occasion; and so faithfully was the

the King served in these Things, that although we did not all correspond with one another, yet being all guided by the same Hand, we took the most regular Measures; and as there was nothing past without our Observation, so the King was sure to have an exact Account of every Thing that was done or doing, either in the City or the Court.

The Campaign now drew on, and the Armies were preparing to take the Field, the King took Care that the Army in *Flanders* was greater than at any Time the Year before; the Regiments all compleated and clothed, the *Household* especially, made a very fine Appearance, but at the same Time his Majesty gave express Orders to the *Marschal de Villars*, not to come to a Battle, but to encamp so if possible, as to cover the Frontiers, and prevent a Siege; for this, says the King, will be our last Campaign, if we can avoid a Blow.

As I had no Business in the Field, it relates not to these private Remarks to take Notice of what past between the Armies; only in general it may be proper to enter something about it in these Minutes: In *Spain*, where the Allies were to carry on the War ESPECIALLY, the Duke of *A——* was sent to command;

mend; but if he had *more Troops* than
 usually the Queen employed there, the
 rest of the Allies *had less*; the Losses of
 their late Action at the End of the last
 Campaign, lay so heavy on them, and
 the *German Troops* had suffered so much,
 were so ill recruited, and, *which was worse*,
 so ill paid, that all Count *Staremberg* and
 the *Duke* could do, was but to encamp
 on the Banks of the *Segra*, and waste
 the whole Summer without any conside-
 rable Action; which, *to us*, was a Victo-
 ry, being all that the King expected:
 In *Flanders* it was much the same
 Thing, the two Armies faced one ano-
 ther a long while on the Banks of the
Senset; the Confederates had *Donay* in
 their Reer, and watched an Occasion to
 attack *Arras* or *Bouchain*; the *French* had
Cambray in their Reer, *Bouchain* on their
 Right, and *Arras* on their Left, and
 their Business was to cover them all;
 they dodg'd and watch'd one another
 a great while, till the Time spun out,
 and it was the latter End of *July* before
 any Thing was done; when the *Duke*
 indeed making a Feint of marching to-
 wards *Arras*, gave the *Marschal Villars*
 the Slip, and by a swift Countermarch
 passed the *Scarp* and the *Senset*, and got
 behind our Lines: The *Marschal* was
 en-

enraged at this Surprize, and had he not been limited by the King's express Orders, would have come to a Battle, which, before their whole Army was come up, he had indeed an Opportunity to do with Advantage: But being obliged to follow his Instructions, he had no more to do, but to lye still, and suffer *Bouchain* to be invested.

People were very merry at *Paris* with the *Mareschal de Villars* on this Occasion, who, in his Gasconading Humour, had boasted in his Letters for a Month before, that he would answer for that Campaign, that the Confederates should neither have a Battle or a Siege; but the King was easie enough so long as no general Battle had been fought; and no Man knew the true Scituation of his Affairs so well as himself.

In a Word, *Bouchain* was attacked after a World of Time spent, in the necessary Caution, our Army being so near; the Town made a great Defence, and held out some Weeks; and the *Mareschal de Villars* got as much Credit by obliging the Confederate Army to go into Winter Quarters without undertaking any other Enterprize, as he lost by being surprized at first: We, who were in *London*, could not but

but smile to see the Whigs and Tories fall out about the Glory of this Campaign; one Side complimenting the other Side; mocking the Duke of M—— upon the great Success and glorious Progress of the Confederates Arms; The Tories jeering, asked the Whigs when they thought *France* would be conquered at the Rate of a *Bouchain* in a Summer? and how many Millions of Money *Bouchain* had cost, more than the Ground it stood on was worth? The Whigs, on the other Hand, taunted the Tories with their new Schemes for carrying on the War, ask'd them, what they thought now of ESPECIALLY in *SPAIN*; and whether the Duke of A—— or the Duke of M—— were the better Generals? They upbraided them with the Duke of A—— being as uneasie at serving under Count *Starembergh*, as he was before under the Duke of M——; and asked them, if he had transmitted no Discontents at the Conduct of that General? They bad them cast up the Expences, and see whether the Campaign in *Flanders*, where *something* was got for their Money, was not a better Account than that in *Catalonia*, where the Money was spent, and *nothing* at all done.

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We

We were not behind Hand to farther these Complaints on both Sides, as Occasion offered ; for as our Design was to represent the War in such Colours, as should perswade the People to think it a Grievance ; so we concurr'd in all the Jestts they made on one Side as well as on the other ; nor indeed were those mutual Raileries unserviceable to our Interest, seeing they mutually discouraged the People in the Affair of the War in general ; made them think it tedious and burthensome, and the Notions of Peace, which we were soon to introduce, the more agreeable and desirable on many Accounts.

I am now come to the substantial Part of this Management ; The Campaign was over, in which, by losing no more, we gained a sufficient Victory ; the *English* might say in as boasting a Manner as they pleased, that they had gained a glorious Conquest ; the more they boasted in such a Case, the more would they be exposed ; for even in *England* the People found that the War was very little nearer an End than it was before ; the *French* Army was whole and unbroken, and the Confederates only so much more in Debt than they were before.

But

But as the King, by the Authority of his own Judgment, resolv'd before, *even against the Opinion of all about him*, to make no Steps towards the Measures he had designed, till Things were in a Posture to his Mind; No, tho' he run the Risque of another Campaign, *which indeed, as is said, we were all full of Apprehensions about*; so now, tho' our Apprehensions were over, the King resolv'd that the Time was now come to begin: This shew'd that the King's Measures were not laid according as the War was, or was not pressing, but according to the Progress of Things in the *English* Court, where his Intelligence was punctual and exact, and of which he was the best Judge.

The Tories had, as is said, fixed themselves in the Administration in *England*, and Mr. H—— having carried his Point in every Thing, was made Treasurer: But the Opposition which the Whigs made in every Step was great, and the certain Views they thought they had of plunging the Ministry into Difficulties by the War, buoy'd them up in that Opposition; nor was it an improbable Thing, but that they should be liable to the same Mistake, which they found it their Interest to blame the o-

ther for; nor was the new Ministry a little embarrassed with the Difficulties which the obstinate Resistance of the Whigs brought them into, with Respect to their Credit, and the raising the necessary Funds for the War: When the King saw these Things, he presently concluded, that NOW *was the happy Juncture*, which he had so long waited for; and that since the *English* Ministry were threatned by their Enemies with being disabled from supporting the War, it was not to be doubted but they would accept of having the Glory of making an honourable Peace; and *France* had no more to do, but to make some *Proposals*, that should be more particularly advantageous to the *British* Nation than ever was offered before.

The Mareschal *Tallard* was a Prisoner of War in *England*, but was confin'd to an honourable Restraint in the Country, at a Town called *Nottingham*, about an hundred *English* Miles from *London*; But the King having entrusted the Mareschal with his Measures, I was ordered to go to *Nottingham* to concert Measures with him, in what Manner to break the Ice, and how to bring the Ministry to hearken to *Proposals* of Peace.

It

It was an *English* Person of Honour, who, before this Journey, I had found Means to have some Conversation with; upon the Subject of Peace and War; In the little Conferences we had, the following Heads became the Subject of one Evening's Discourse, (for we talked often about it.)

I told him, that we had in *France*, very scandalous Notions of the Ends the People of *England* had in View in carrying on this War.

Scandalous Notions! said he, Pray, Sir, what are your Notions about it?

I reply'd, that our Notions were, that they did not carry it on upon a Christian Principle.

He desired me to explain my self.

Your Lordship, said I, will pardon me then, if what I say reflects on the *English* Nation.

He bid me use my Freedom, adding, that he should take nothing ill; Besides, said he, you only relate the Opinions of your Country-men, you do not say they are your own.

I told him, we thought they acted in *England*, as if they carried on this War merely to destroy; and to act Revenge upon Nations and People, not to obtain the Ends they pretended to fight for; and

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that

that this, we thought, was not Christian.

He replied, if it were true in Fact, he would grant it was not Christian; but, says he, *I see no Ground for the Suggestion.*

My Lord, said I, the Suggestion is very just; for you must carry on the War for meer Glory, to build a Fame to the Reign of your Queen; or, *which would be worse,* for the personal Ambition of your Generals and Officers.

Ambition do you call it! said he, *turning very quick upon me,* if you had said for getting of Money to our Generals and Officers, I would not have taken much Pains to have justified them, for ought I know that may be part of their Design.

I told him, if I chose rather to call it *Ambition* than *Avarice*, it was, that I would not say any Thing disobliging, but I included them both in my Meaning.

He asked me upon what Foundation I charged them with such a Thing.

I told him, because it seem'd evident, that they chose to obtain that by fighting and shedding Blood, which, there was no Question, might be obtained by amicable and Christian Methods.

Then

Then I find, said he, you would lay the Beginning of the War at our Door.

No, my Lord, said I, I am not going back to Things so remote; but if the same Things can be obtained by a Peace, which you can expect by the War; How can you be said to carry on the War on a Christian Principle?

He told me, this was begging the Question, for that it did not appear that they could obtain these Things by a Peace.

No, my Lord, said I, but it appears you reject all Offers of *Treating*, and by that, you may be justly said to reject all the Offers of a Peace; Did ever Nation make War before, and shut the Doors against all Proposals of Accommodations?

He told me, I laid my Charge very close, but that he did not see that they rejected all Proposals: There were Proposals indeed made, said he, in *Holland*, but they could be brought to nothing; I know not where the Fault lies, sometimes we blame your People, and sometimes our own.

I could easily satisfy your Lordship, said I, where the Fault lay; and I added, that the Usage we met with there, would have broken off any Treaty in the World.

I differ from you exceedingly, said my Lord, and must be allowed to think, that there was a much greater Complaint made, than there was Occasion given.

I told him, that to avoid Disputes with his Lordship, I would wave that ; But, said I, must there then, my Lord, never be an End of a bloody War, because that Treaty came to nothing ?

He replied, that if the King of *France* were sincerely disposed to Peace, *there was no doubt*, but there might be Ways found out to have his Proposals hearkned to again by the Allies.

And I return'd to his Lordship, that were those Ways found out, *there was no doubt*, but the King of *France* was sincerely disposed to Peace : But, my Lord, said I, are not all the Doors barr'd against receiving Proposals ? Do they think the King will take all the low Steps for a Peace that they seem to suggest, even to implore it of them ?

No, indeed, *said my Lord*, I see no Door barr'd up, any of the Parties concerned may hear Proposals, tho' none can fairly enter upon any Treaty, without the Participation of the Allies.

I told him, they might legally perhaps ; but all the Allies were so afraid of one another, that none of them cared to meddle ; especially, said I, my Lord, you in *England* dare not do it, you would be insulted presently, and taxed with carrying on a separate Treaty with *France*, the outed Party want no other Handle against you.

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There may be something in that indeed, said he, but were I sure your King would but make an honourable and a practicable Offer, I would concern my self to bring the Government to hear it.

I told him, I wished his Lordship was as able to assure me of the last, as I was sure of the first.

Truly, *said he*, I make the Offer; because I confess I am of the Opinion which you mentioned before, that to carry on the War, when a just Satisfaction may be obtained by a Peace, is unchristian and unlawful; But let us be satisfied, that you will make fair and honourable Proposals.

My Lord, *said I*, if your Lordship will concern your self to have Proposals accepted, I will concern my self to have such made to you? But I fear you promise more than you can obtain.

We broke off this Discourse at this Point, and I not only acquainted Monsieur *Tallard* the Mareschal of it, but the King himself; who, in Return, ordered me by all Means to renew those Discourses, and if I could introduce any Thing of a Treaty, I should soon have further Directions.

It was not many Days, before my Lord gave me an Opportunity to see him again; and I could easily perceive that he had thought what we discoursed was so considerable, that it was worth communicating

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to some of the great Men then in Business, who had encouraged him to speak with me again upon that Head : We discoursed long, and entered into many particular Debates on the Management of the last Treaty, how severe the Terms, and how rigidly insisted upon, &c. I complain'd, that if the Confederates would not treat in another and more equal Manner than that was, they could not expect any Potentate would treat with them at all ; at least, not till they were driven to the last Extremity, and to a much greater Distress than they could suppose the King of *France* was yet brought to, or he was likely to be brought to in many Years ; tho' their Successes should continue in the War to be as great as before.

My Lord took up that Case something short, and told me, *that* the People of *England* were very sanguine in the Affair of *the War* ; and that they made no Question, by the Superiority of their Forces, to compel the King of *France* to comply with all their Demands, and even to accept of worse Conditions than those he refused at *Ghertruydenburgh* : He told me, that I could not but see that we lost Ground every Year, and that one Town or two more falling thus every Year, the Time must come at last, when there would be no more Towns to take ; and that then it must be disputed in the Field. I

I replied, but with a great deal of Respect, *that* I believed his Lordship rather spoke the common Sentiments of a Party, than his own; *That* he knew the People were taught to speak thus, to carry on a Design, rather than that they who instructed them, believed it themselves; *That* I thought it was a Dispute, which it was needless to enter upon, to examine only how long the War might last, and which Nation would soonest be reduced to a Necessity of desiring an End of it; *That* the People of *England* had long been flattered with the Words, *one Tear more*, and *one Tear more*; and yet I left it to his Lordship to consider impartially, whether the *French* had not rather gain'd than lost by the War, since the refusing the Preliminaries; *That* tho' it was true we had lost *Bouchain* this Year, which fell by an accidental Surprize, and a Fineness in the Art of War; yet, *That* on the *Rhine*, we had push'd the *Imperialists* to an open Retreat, and had lived at the Expence of the *Germans* all the Summer; *That* in *Spain*, we had won a glorious Victory, surrounded and taken all the *English* Troops Prisoners, and in the Consequence of those Defeats, had regained that whole Kingdom, and reduced the Confederate Army to lie on the defensive, and little better than under the Cannon of *Barcelona*; *That* we had taken
Tortosa

Tortosa and *Gironne*, and not left them any Place of Strength, but that Capital, in the whole Country of *Catalonia*; but that notwithstanding this, and however, *we that were French-men* were of Opinion, the Confederates had as much Reason to desire Peace as we; yet it was manifest, the King of *France* did openly desire Peace, if it might be had upon equal and just Conditions; But that, as I said before, *I thought* the Confederates pursued the War with an unchristian Temper, being rather willing to obtain their End by the Sword, than by Treaty: I added, that as the *God of Justice* was Witness to the Sincerity of the King's Designs, so it could never be expected, that Heaven would prosper those, who seem'd to pursue a War, merely for the cruel and unjust Ends of enriching one Nation by the Ruin of another; That I was persuaded, if the Queen had these Things rightly represented to her, her Majesty was a Princess of too much Humanity, to countenance the carrying on a War, when *all that could be expected by the War*, was ready to be given her by a Peace; and that without impoverishing and racking her Subjects, without ruining their Commerce, and destroying the Navigation; and in a Word, without the Devastation of War, and the shedding of Christian Blood: I begg'd his Lordship
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to consider these Things ; and as his Honourable Station gave him Opportunity to lay these Things before the Queen, I should esteem it greatly my Honour and Satisfaction ; and I believed so would his Lordship too, if this accidental Discourse, which had been begun without any View or Design, by an obscure Traveller and Stranger, might be a Means to lay a Foundation of so glorious an Event, as that of Peace to so many Nations, who were at this Time involved in this dreadful and destructive War.

His Lordship listen'd to this Discourse very attentively ; but when I had done, he gave me an Answer smiling, which I did not so well understand the Jest of, till some Time: *MONSIEUR*, says my Lord, *you talk just the Language of our new Gentlemen at Court, you make me smile to think, that either you in France have convers'd with them, OR, they have learned from you ;* I made no Reply to this, not seeming to understand it, as indeed at first I did not ; but when this Discourse was over, his Lordship told me, he thought in his Conscience there was no Difficulty so great in the Affair of Peace, as that of making and receiving the Proposals ; *That is very true,* my Lord, said I, *and that is the Reason, why I said you do not carry the War on like Christians ; and that the Door is barr'd a-*
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gainst Applications of Peace: Nay, my Lord, said I, have not the Confederates used their Interest in all the Courts of Christendom, to desire that no Prince should offer his Mediation? Is not this testifying that they resolve to have no Peace? And is not this contrary to the Usage of all Nations?

His Lordship seemed offended at this, and said, there was no Occasion in the present Case for Proposals; the King knew what the Confederates insisted on, the Preliminaries were yet in being, and his Majesty had no more to do, whenever he really desired Peace, than to send Word to the States, that he accepted the Preliminaries, and the War would immediately cease; and if he did not do thus, it was him, *the King*, who continued the War, not the Confederates.

I replied, that his Lordship knew very well, that the Preliminaries, not to speak of the Unreasonableness of the Conditions, did not subsist now; that Things were in another Scituation, so that many of those Conditions were impracticable; That, for Example, the Arch-Duke was beaten out of *Spain*, and King *Philip* remained victorious; and if it was not in the Power of *France* then, to oblige him in two Months to quit the Throne, much less would it be so now; That the Arch-Duke was now declared Emperor of *Germany*, and there
was

was Reason to question, *whether all the Allies* would desire he should be possessed of the *Spanish* Monarchy also, which Addition would overthrow the Balance of *Europe*, which had been so much spoken of by the late Plenipotentiaries; that if the King thought it hard, to oblige his Grandson to quit the *Spanish* Throne before, he must needs think it both hard, with Respect to his Grandson, and unsafe to his own Kingdoms, to do it now; But that there was no doubt, but Expedients might be found out if a Treaty was set on Foot, and that perhaps, Proposals might be made equally safe for *Europe*, if a Medium was but found out, for the bringing such Proposals on the Stage.

His Lordship told me, these were just the common Topicks of the new Ministry, who looked as if they were in Concert with our People of *France*, to make the treatying easier than it was.

I replied, if they were willing to make Treating easie to us, they were so much better Christians than others; that if they were in Concert with any of our People, I should be glad; I only wished for the common Good of the World, that ours were in Concert with them, or with any one else, that a good Peace might be settled.

That is what I wish as well as you, said my Lord, *but we shall all differ about what*
you

you call a GOOD PEACE; What is good for one, will not be thought good for another; you see they could not agree about it in Holland.

I returned, that we might perhaps in England for all that.

But, says my Lord, your Proposals must be made there.

But why not in England, my Lord, said I?

Nay, says my Lord, I cannot tell; I think any one of the Allies may receive Proposals, and communicate them to the rest; Why do ye not make them?

Now I had brought it as far as I thought was convenient for the present, so I turned off that close Question thus; Nay, my Lord, I am no Minister of State, I am but a private Gentleman; I only entred into these Discourses by Accident, your Lordship seeming not to dislike the Conversation; I wish I had Interest among the great Men on both Sides, I would soon bring them together, and France should make such Proposals to all the Allies, and to the Queen in particular, as should be better to England than ever was made yet.

My Lord returned with a great Freedom thus: Monfieur, I am very sorry to hear what you now tell me; for we were gone so very far, that I verily thought you had some Interest in the Affair, and would at last produce me a sufficient Authority to go farther with you; I will be

be very open with you, I am satisfied our Ministry would do any Thing that they can lawfully, honourably, and conveniently do, to put an End to the War; for they are so oppressed by the Faction of the Whigs, in the carrying it on, that there is nothing they desire more: Now if you think that your People are enclined to make a Proposal for an honourable Peace, and such as may be to the Satisfaction of the Allies, and especially as may have something in it advantageous to *England*; I say, if you are sure of this, and they design it sincerely, can you not propose some Way to introduce it and bring it about?

My Lord, said I, tho' I am no publick Person, I am not destitute of Acquaintance with those in my Country, who can say more to it than we can at this Distance; and if your Lordship will give me leave to write upon this Subject, I will faithfully let you know what Answer I receive: My Lord told me, he would be very glad that I would write, or do any Thing else, that might further so good a Work; and I desired that his Lordship would in the mean time think of some Method for the receiving such Proposals as might be made: *Leave that to me*, says my Lord, and thus we parted for that Time.

It is easier to think, than to describe by Words, what a Satisfaction it was to me to have made this Step; and I failed not to let the King have the full Account of every particular, as well as the Mareschal Tallard, to whom I sent the next Day.

About the Return of the Post, I took an Occasion to meet my Lord again; and he asked me if I had heard any Thing further about that Affair; I told him, I had; and that the first Thing I had to ask of his Lordship was, whether he would give me leave to bring into his Company a Gentleman, who had Credentials sufficient to satisfy him, that what he said was with Authority, and might be depended upon; He answered me, that he could not go that Length without Leave of the Queen, but that this was he acknowledged a good Advance for so short a Time on my Part, and he would mention it if I was willing, as a Mark that we were sincere in the Design; I told him, I had but one Request to his Lordship, which was, that he would give me his Honour for concealing me, and every one else, till it might be convenient to own what they were about; *You need not capitulate with me,* replied my Lord, *for that; I would not have it known on my own Account, for Ten Thousand Pound; and the Ministry, I am sure, would not for ten times the Sum, you have my Word for it.*

We

We parted at that Time, and met again the next Evening; when my Lord seeing me come into the Room alone, he looked a little disappointed; *What are you alone,* MONSIEUR, says he? Yes, my Lord, said I, for a little while, but we shall soon have the Person your Lordship expects, he is already in the House; but I have a few Preliminaries to offer first to your Lordship, said I, which I thought it was necessary to mention, and therefore desired a few Words with your Lordship before hand; this he was very well pleased with, so we sat down.

I made some Introduction to excuse my plain Way of Discourse to him, and that he should not construe the Forwardness I had shewn to the Disadvantage of the Proposals that were to be made: All this he told me was needless, that he liked Things the better, for the open Way that they had been communicated, and should be glad, whoever was employed, they might find the same Plainness and Honesty in them, which he believed I had used with him; Why then, my Lord, said I, I will only beg leave to lay one Paper before you, and as soon as you have perused and approved it, I'll bring to you a Person sufficiently empowered, to discourse with you more closely than we have been able to do: Hereupon I layed before him my Commission,

or Power, signed by the King's own Hand, and sealed in Form, empowering me to treat in private with any Person the Queen should direct, for the admitting Proposals to be made to her Majesty for a Treaty of Peace, and also to regulate such Proposals as should concern the Queen's Dominions in particular.

He was greatly surprized when he saw this, and especially when he knew my Name; and rising from his Seat, paid me the Respects due to an Ambassadour. I declined the Compliment, absolutely refusing the Title of *Excellence*, &c. and entreating his Lordship to use me still as a private Person, that otherwise it would destroy the Freedom of our Conferences, and make concealing us exceeding difficult, if not impossible: He mused a while, *Well*, says he, *then it shall be so*; then he embraced me, and told me with Abundance of Civility, that he would treat me as a Friend; I told him, in that he would do me too much Honour, but most certainly assist me most effectually in the difficult Affair we had before us.

I then began to discourse of Business; but my Lord told me there was a Difficulty in the Way, that he did not see how it was possible to get over; *That is*, continued he, *it is impossible for me to bring any Credentials to you, or any one that will have*
any,

any, we are in such Circumstances here, that no Man dare take any Powers to enter into a Treaty on these Things.

My Lord, said I, that Scruple shall be easily removed, I ask no Ceremony of Credentials; we are not to enter into a Treaty of Peace, but to talk of Methods to introduce such a Thing; your Lordship will be pleased to let me know that you do not act from your self, and to do it in such a Way as you shall think fit.

I will go farther than that, Sir, says my Lord, I will introduce you to the Queen herself, and you shall see her Majesty direct you to me; Will that satisfy, says he; if it will not, I know not what to say? Yes, my Lord, says I, fully.

The next Morning he took me in his Coach to Kensington, where I believe the Queen went for the Occasion, for the Court was not there; and where I had the Honour to kiss her Majesty's Hand; after which, my Lord speaking privately to the Queen, her Majesty turned about to me, and said, Sir, My Lord — here, directing her self towards his Lordship, has given me an Account of what Steps you have taken, you may let him hear what you have to say; I bowed, and was going to say something, tho' I hardly knew what; but her Majesty turned too quick from me to my Lord again, so I stopp'd; my Lord

spoke a good while to the Queen again, and when he had done, the Queen turn'd to me, and said, *'Tis a good Work, pray God succeed you in it; I am sure I long for Peace, I hate this dreadful Work of Blood;* at which, her Majesty shook her Head 2 or 3 times, saying some other Words that I could not hear, which I was very sorry for; and then the Queen retired, and we withdrew: The Work was now on the Anvil, and we had nothing to do, but to appoint our Meetings, and go on with it; nor were we long about it.

I avoided as carefully as my Lord could desire it, the entering into a formal Negotiation; the chief of our Discourse turned upon the Method of the making and receiving Proposals, so as to give no Umbrage to the Allies; which, it was easie to see, they would take upon the first Rumours of such a Thing: I was willing for a while to put it to his Lordship to give me his Opinion, in what Manner the Ministry here would act; But he declined that Part, only this he granted me, which he said, was to avoid Ceremony, (*viz.*) That the Court of *Great Britain* was as sincerely desirous to entertain the Notion of Peace, as the King of *France* was to make it: and as the Queen her self had let me see her warm Desire for putting an End to the Calamities of *Europe*, so he would

would not hide it from me, that it was his Opinion, that the Ministry had no other Way to support their new Engagement, and carry on the Schemes they had laid, but to bring this Treaty to a Conclusion.

I replied, that I was very glad to find such a good Disposition in the *British* Court to put an End to the War ; and since his Lordship had proceeded hitherto in a generous Confidence with me, I should endeavour to merit the Favour, by all the honourable and generous Terms possible ; That I hoped, I need not say any Thing of the sincere Desire which the King had to enter into a fair Treaty with all the Allies, the many low Steps his Majesty had taken to bring the former Treaty to pass, and the Hardships which he had submitted to in the carrying it on, had testified sufficiently that he desired nothing more ; And as I was satisfied, his Majesty would meet with more honourable Treatment in *England*, and that either they would treat with him with Respect, or not treat at all ; so I was commissioned to enter with her Majesty into such a particular Agreement, or *secret*, reserv'd *Articles*, for her own Part, as should demonstrate the sincere Respect the King my Master had for her Majesty's Person and Interest ; which *secret Articles*, being not to take Place, until the general Peace was made,

could be no Injustice to any of the Allies, to whom the King is willing to give all reasonable Satisfaction, according to the mutual Engagements of the Confederacy.

My Lord replied, he was assured, that if *England* treated with us at all, it would be with all the Respect and good Breeding imaginable; but he questioned very much, whether they would be brought to any Thing, without the Surrender of the *Spanish* Monarchy, as a Preliminary.

I answered, that it was my Opinion, that Case had received such a Turn by the Arch-Duke being made Emperor, and by King *Philip* having recovered it all out of his Hands, that it would be found at a Treaty, that all the Allies would not be of the same Mind in that Article, that they were in before; Nay, that *Great Britain* her self would not be equally willing to put so great a Part of *Europe* into one Hand, as the Empire and the *Spanish* Monarchy would be, joined to the many Kingdoms and Countries already possessed by the House of *Austria*, and that it much rather concern'd them to prevent it.

But, says my Lord, it will immediately occur to us, that neither can it be safe to *Europe*, that the *Spanish* Monarchy should be join'd to the powerful Dominions of the House of *Bourbon*; and this our People are

are already very jealous of; Nay, it was the Reason for the Beginning of the War.

I replied, that I granted all this; but that if then a Medium might be found out, by which *Europe* might be sufficiently assured that this should never come to pass; and that one and the same Person should never be King of the two Kingdoms at the same Time; that then a firm Peace might be made between the Nations, tho' the immediate Surrender of *Spain* was not made a Preliminary.

He told me, if such a Medium could be found out, he would be of my Mind; but he did not see how it was possible.

Of the Possibility, my Lord, said I, the Plenipotentiaries may treat; and if they do not find it possible, then we have no more to say; In the mean time, it's a Treaty only that we are at present upon, in which Case, I dare venture to grant it as a Preliminary, that the King will freely, and *bona fide*, consent to all such Measures as shall appear just and reasonable, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may never be united on the Head of the same Prince.

My Lord seemed pleased at this, and smiling, said, You give me now some View of a Peace, which indeed I never had before; I grant, if this can be secured, the End of
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the War is answered; I confess, I was never for giving Spain to the House of Austria, since the present King Charles, (so he called him,) was made Emperor; only upon this Foundation, (viz.) that it was better to him, than to the House of Bourbon; but if you can find out a Way to secure Europe from the Conjunction of the two Crowns, the End is effectually answered.

My Lord, said I, tho' I make no Question such Measures may be found out, yet the finding them out, or proposing them, is not our present Work; if it is made a Preliminary, that is enough for the present; if after that they cannot adjust it, we cannot help that; all we do now stands for nothing, unless they agree.

Well, says my Lord, pray put that Head down in Writing: I did so, and he carried it away with him, and told me, he did not doubt but to bring me a very good Account of it by the next Evening; who he shewed it to, I know not, but he brought the next Evening a great many Minutes made upon the Subject, some of which he read to me; in which I found very little Evidence of the Persons having understood the Thing they had viewed, and yet I found them very willing to go on upon the designed Negotiation.

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The next Day we met again, when my Lord pressed me vehemently to enter with him into the Measures which are mentioned in the Proposals; but I told him it did not belong to us, our present Business was to set a Treaty on Foot, not to begin the Treaty it self; *Well, but,* says my Lord, *we may make a Conversation upon the Head as private Persons;* My Lord, says I, *my Instructions do not allow me to treat;* but if your Lordship desires to talk in Confidence, I have too great an Assurance of your Justice, to scruple putting all that Confidence in your Honour, that the greatest Freedom of Discourse calls for.

Tell me then, says he, *Do you think the Thing you proposed about SPAIN feasible?* I returned with a Question, *Can your Lordship doubt it?* His Lordship clapt his Hand upon the Table, and I think swore, that he could not see any Thing in it but *Renunciations;* and that, he said, was a Thing so contemptible in *England*, that the very common People would hiss it out of the Nation; every one having in Memory the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and the many Renunciations made there, which nevertheless were of no Moment, the King of *France* being powerful enough to break them: Here I told his Lordship, that I conceived,

conceived, even from his last Words, that there was a manifest Difference between a weak King renouncing his Claim to a Strong Kingdom, and a Strong King renouncing a weak Kingdom.

This startled him again for a while ; but after musing some Time, he said, he believed if the King of *France* was resolved to have such Renunciations take Place, it might be in his Power to consolidate them by naming the Heirs, and embarking all the Confederates in a Guarrantee to support the Heir in Possession. We had a great deal of Discourse on that Head, and it took us up the whole Evening, but either I made him a Convert to my Opinion, or he was so by the Consequences of private Circumstances, for by this Time I began to find the new Managers, who were all in the secret, were impatient for some *Coup d' eclat*, to stop the Violence of the Whigs, who layed close Siege to them, and began to grow very strong.

We met again the next Day, and my Lord told me, he had seriously considered what we talked of the Night before, and he did not say but what I had offered had Weight in it, but the Thing was of such Moment, and it would lie so heavy on the Ministry, if they should make a Demand short of what was offered before, that

that they could not support it; and therefore he desired to ask me, if a Treaty was granted on those Heads, would the King give the Queen of *Great Britain* some such Security that he was sincere, as should be more than was annexed to the last Treaty, and as might be sufficient to justify their Proceedings to all the Allies; I returned to this immediately, that as this was remote from what we met about, so I hoped he did not expect my Reply in the Form of an Agent; he said, no, no, but as a private Conversation; *Why then, my Lord, said I, what Security would you ask?* His Lordship returned in a Manner, that easily made me understand he was directed; *Will ye give us Dunkirk? Give it you!* my Lord, said I, *how do you understand giving it you?* Give it us as a Pledge of the Sincerity of the King's Intentions: How, said I, again, will you return it again after the Peace? Nay, says my Lord, we cannot say that; but you may give it into our Hands, as a Pledge to be disposed of afterwards, as by the Peace, when it is concluded, shall be directed.

Dunkirk, my Lord, said I, is an unvalued Treasure, but there is nothing the Queen can ask of the King my Master,
but

but what in Dependence upon her Majesty's Justice he will be ready to grant.

Well, Sir, said he, I would have you write about it; if the King will make a Deposit of that Value in our Hands, I think we shall then have no Reason to doubt his Sincerity, and I dare say, on such a Testimony of his Majesty's Confidence in the Queen, her Majesty will think her self obliged to contribute all that in her lies, to put an End to the War, and will look upon the King as her Friend and Allie.

My Lord, said I, as I am sure there is nothing on Earth which the King my Master desires more, than a strict Amity with her *Britannick* Majesty; I dare assure you, without Writing about it, that he will not scruple to make that Sacrifice to her Majesty, as a Pledge of his Passion for her Friendship; and when we come to talk closer on those Things, I shall give your Lordship Satisfaction in that particular.

I observed, that when his Lordship had gained this Point, he was so big with it, that he was uneasie to be gone; and I believed afterward he went directly to the Queen with it.

NOW, by this Time I was so well acquainted with the Court, that I had
secret

secret Intelligence of many Passages, and particularly I had this Lord watched every Night when he went from me, so that I knew very well who he communicated his Proceedings to, and consequently, who he concerted Measures with; and I quickly learned that his Discourse to me, though he called it private Conversation, was all under the Instructions of a secret Committee of the Managers of that Time, the Queen her self perhaps often present; the Thoughts of getting *Dunkirk* into their Hands, I found took with the Ministry extremely, as a Thing which would recommend them to the People, and make the Peace seem particularly advantageous to *England*.

They owned to me afterwards, that it was the more grateful to them, as they were assured it would be a Mortification to the old Ministry, who never had an Opportunity to ask such a Thing, or even a Possibility of it; all their Demands having been made at second Hand, by the Ministers of the States General, who would be so far from asking such a Thing, especially to have it put into the Hands of the *English*, that if We had offered it, they would not have consented to it, but would have insisted to have it gar-

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rison'd by an equal Number at least, of their own Troops.

They were not backward neither, to acknowledge that the having *Dunkirk* put into their Hands, was the more agreeable to them, as they knew it would be a sensible Mortification to the States General; who, at that Time, they look'd upon as secretly abetting and supporting the Faction, as they called it, of the Whigs against them.

After therefore I had assured them, that the King had ordered me to let the Queen of *Great Britain* know, that he would make that Sacrifice to the Zeal he had for her Majesty's Satisfaction, and to the Desire he entertained of entring into a strict Friendship with her Majesty and her People; I found them in so good a Humour as to every Thing else, that I had much less Difficulty to bring other Points to a Conclusion than I expected; and particularly from this Time, I found my Lord ——— came readily into the Article of the Renunciations, and the Reasonableness of keeping *Spain* out of the Hands of the House of *Austria*; I found also, that the Arguments I had used with his Lordship, were presently made the popular Arguments of the Town; from whence I drew several Inferences for my private Government;

ment; First, I found by it, that the Ministry were but indifferently furnished before with a true Notion of the War they were carrying on; and were not sorry to have something put into their Thoughts to answer the received Opinion of the People of *England*, (*viz.*) *That no End could be put to the War, without King Philip was dethron'd*; which dethroning, appearing every Day more and more difficult, the putting an End to the War, which above all Things ~~was~~ necessary to them, seemed impracticable; and to say the Truth, this Difficulty embarrassed them very much: The Whigs had made the carrying on the War such a Principle in the State, that to talk otherwise was, among the People, a Kind of Treason at that Time against their Constitution; and it was an admirable Policy in the Whigs to do so; for had the Ministry been obliged to carry on the War Abroad, they could very ill have supported themselves against the Opposition they met with at Home; And it was upon this Occasion, that Mr. *St. John*, at that Time Secretary of State, when something was said in their Parliament concerning secret Councils, to the Prejudice of the Publick, openly declared in the House of Parliament, that *the Ministry was oppressed by a*
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Faction, with design to make the carrying on the War difficult; and that her Majesty was therefore resolved to make Peace upon the best Terms she could, that she might not come again into the Management of her own Servants.

In the next Place, I found that the Ministry were full of Resentments against the Dutch; not only for their offering to interpose with the Queen in the Case of the late Changes at Court, which they called an Insolence unsufferable, and meddling with her Majesty's private Administration; But for their Tampering, as it was call'd, with the publick Affairs of Britain, entring into Confidences, and keeping Correspondences with the old Ministers, after they were displaced; supporting their Intrigues, and making Engagements with them, which, as they gave out, they had discovered; particularly their prevailing with the Duke of M—— not to demit the Command of the Army; and I was told, that they pretended to have Intelligence that the Dutch had offered Assistance to the Duke, and his Friends, if he should find it for the Publick Good, to oblige the new Ministry by Force to lay down; whether they had any Ground for that Suggestion, or that they thought it for their Service

Service to persuade the Queen to believe it, were it true or not, is yet a Secret to most People; But I have some Reason to say the latter was the Case.

But to go back to our Negotiation: We were still upon the Subject of what Concessions would be necessary on the King's Side, not only to satisfy the Queen of his Majesty's sincere Resolutions for Peace, but also to justify the new Ministry in the Measures they were to take for a Treaty, by the Advantage of the Offers; and tho' all that we did, was but in Confidence, and taken *ad referendum*, yet we went through the Points as if we had been Plenipotentiaries empowered to treat, and conclude every Thing we discoursed of.

Also we were not without our politick Steps in this Affair on both Sides; for as I easily perceived how great an Alteration the Offer of giving up *Dunkirk* to them had made in their Temper; how open, how free, and how ready they were to grant on their Side, *as it were*, in Return for so generous a Proposal; so I failed not to make some Advantages of it, and improve it to make a Demand of something to be given us in Return, and as an Equivalent: When I first proposed this to my Lord _____, he

seemed struck and surprized, and I easily perceived the Effects of it increased the next Day, after he had communicated it to the Queen ; for coming to mention it among other Discourses, *he told me*, I had the Art of blowing hot and blowing cold; that I gave with the one Hand, and took away with the other; That I had made them believe the King would sacrifice *Dunkirk* to her Majesty, as an Assurance of his Sincerity, &c. and that now I talked of an *Equivalent*, which he, said I, knew was not in her Majesty's Power to offer, and that it seem'd to him, as if I had repented the Compliment that was offered, or had found it was too easily accepted, and was willing to throw a Difficulty in the Way, and render it impracticable ; that so we might keep *Dunkirk*, without seeming to break our Word.

I seemed surprized at this Explanation of my Meaning, which I alledged was unkind, and that it supposed me to be very dissingenuous in my Proposals ; I told his Lordship, that *Dunkirk* was not only the strongest Bulwark of the *French* Monarchy, and the Port to a great Part of his Majesty's Dominions ; but had cost the King immense Sums, as well to purchase it, as to fortifie and improve it, and to put it into the Condition of one
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of the strongest and most important Fortresses in the World; and as his Frontiers would be left naked, and his Revenues infinitely impaired by the giving it up, so it was but reasonable that some Equivalent should be given to his Majesty for such a Loss; but I added, that his Lordship had no Reason to suggest any Thing unkind or unfair, in the Manner of my proposing it, and especially the Explanations which I should give it, would fully satisfy his Lordship that nothing could be less in my Thoughts, or remoter from my Views: That for Example; *First*, the Equivalent I proposed, I told him, was referr'd to the general Treaty, but that the King would immediately put her Majesty in Possession of the Place; *Secondly*, That they knew the Queen could not give this Equivalent, none of the Acquisitions in *Flanders* being in her Majesty's Possession, but that it must come from the *Dutch*; and all that should be expected was, that her Majesty would think her self obliged, to use her Interest with the Allies in the ensuing Treaty, to give such an Equivalent, which there was no doubt, they would comply with, after it was openly mentioned in the Preliminaries.

My Lord ——— was a Man of too much Sincerity, to manage a Conference of this Kind with any, who would take Advantage of those Things; I could easily perceive, even in his Countenance, the Satisfaction this Declaration of my Meaning in the Word, an *Equivalent*, gave him; for he had, as he frankly told me afterwards, looked upon the Treaty as entirely broken off, and at an End upon that Head; and as I placed it, he was made perfectly easy, for it mattered not much, as I perceived, what the *Equivalent* was, so long as the *Dutch* were to give it; and we soon adjusted that *Equivalent* between our selves to be the City of *Lisle*, and the Towns of *Douay* and *Bouchain*, or any Alternative for the latter, as should be determined afterwards in a Treaty; as I made this Advance upon them, on Account of the Fondness they shew'd of getting *Dunkirk* into their Hands; so they were not behind Hand with me, in taking Advantages of the Forwardness which I had shewed in so unexpectedly offering such a Compliment to the desired Treaty; and my Lord began to enquire, if we had nothing else to offer on the Account of the Negotiations, to the particular Interest of the Queen; for that *Dunkirk*,
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tho' considerable in it self, yet was not to be looked upon as a Gift to the Queen in Propriety; that the Allies would never be easie to have it so, neither did the Queen desire it; but that it should be entirely rased and destroyed, as what would otherwise create Jealousies, and Uneasinesses, among their Neighbour States, and perhaps, some time or other, kindle the Flame of a new War in *Europe*.

I replied, that *Dunkirk* was such a Place, and of such Consequence, that there was no doubt, but the Confederates would insist on its being demolished; and that it was the King's Interest in particular to have it be so; and that as it was on this Prospect, that his Majesty consented to part with it; so it was on the Supposition of this only, that an Equivalent could be demanded of the *Dutch*: That tho', to oblige her Majesty, the King was ready to consent to the giving it into her Hands whole and entire, as it now is, and to leave the Time to her self when to demolish it; yet that it was evident, it would not be for her Service, to agree that it should not be demolished at all; That I had proposed *Dunkirk*, as a Testimony of the King's Sincerity in the Proposals, and of his Resolution to oblige her Majesty, being an

Offer of the highest Nature, and therefore qualified effectually to convince her Majesty of both; that I appealed to his Lordship, whether I had not outdone even his Expectations, that after such an Advance, I was surprized to hear his Lordship ask me, *What else I had to offer?* But as this was a Testimony that his Majesty could deny nothing her Majesty had Reason to desire, so if there was any Thing else, in which the King could oblige the Queen, if her Majesty pleased to let me know it, I would faithfully represent it to the King, and did not doubt but I should obtain it.

His Lordship answered, that there were some private Things the Queen would desire, and some publick; the last of which, he said, it was reasonable to make a Part of the Preliminary Agreement, and therefore should be mentioned as such, (*viz.*) a solemn Recognition of her Majesty's Title, and of the Settlement of the Succession in the House of *Hanover*.

I could not but smile at this Proposal. I told his Lordship, that if her Majesty did require those Things for Form sake, they would be granted in such particular Manner as her Majesty should direct; but I desired to make this Explanation at least Verbally, (*viz.*) That as his Majesty
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was satisfied the Queen was too just to desire that imaginary Schemes should take Place, and that we made no doubt, she would find out Ways and Methods to restore the rightful Heir of her Father to his just Dominions after her Decease; so the King my Master would consent to any such Article looking the other Way, as might disengage him from the Obligation of that Agreement, as Occasion should present.

My Lord ——— returned, that we must talk no Treason; that the Queen could not admit of any Explanations, whatever her Majesty's Intentions might be; That the Succession was settled by Act of Parliament, and their Enemies desired no better Handle against them, than to find they should omit any Thing in a Treaty which the Nature of the Thing called for, towards a further Security of that Settlement; That as to the private Sentiments of the Queen, or of any about her, they could say nothing about that: This he said with such an Air, as let me understand that he gave a secret Assent to what I had proposed; *at least*, that I had not spoken so disagreeable of that Part as he seemed to suggest; But he said there were many Reasons why
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he desired I would drop that Part of the Discourse.

I told his Lordship, he should be obeyed, and that I only desired this Use might be made of what I had said, (*viz.*) that it might be remembred I had given that Caution, with Respect to what might happen hereafter; and that whatever should be agreed on in Publick, it might be understood according to the Interpretation I had spoken of.

My Lord replied, that he would remember it; upon which, I told him, I did not question but a Person would be sent over, in the Course of this Negotiation, to set that Matter in a true Light, and to give her Majesty full Satisfaction of what Views the King had of that Kind before him; for that I was sure, his Majesty would resolve to take no Measures without first acquainting and consulting her Majesty, and directing all Things according to her Pleasure.

Well then, said MY LORD, let us talk no more of it now; when that Treaty begins, I shall desire that I may be no Plenipotentiary.

Upon this we wav'd the Discourse for the present, and I told my Lord, that as to her Majesty's Title in Possession, the
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King had ordered me to acknowledge it in Form, and to assure the Queen, that he would be Guarrantee for her quiet Possession with his utmost Force, and with all his Power, and leave it upon his Successors to do the same; and she had no more to do, than to order it to be inserted in the strongest Manner possible.

My Lord desired I would put it into Writing, which I did in the very Words which were afterwards published, and called the Preliminaries; (*viz.*) *That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain in that Quality;* he pressed me to add the other, which I declined for some Time, but afterwards did, tho' in the most ambiguous Terms; thus, (*viz.*) *As also the Succession of that Crown, according to the PRESENT Settlement;* He would have had me added, *on the House of HANOVER;* but this I intreated him not to desire of me, and told him, I could by no Means be concerned in it; so he insisted no more on it.

We returned then to the Discourse of other Branches of the Queen's publick Demands; But I entirely prevailed with him to let nothing more be mentioned in Publick: At first I told him, that the
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acknowledging the Queen and the Settlement, and the giving up *Dunkirk*, with a Declaration that all the rest of the Allies should receive Satisfaction in their reasonable Demands at the Treaty, was enough to convince her Majesty of the King's upright Intentions, and were in themselves Preliminaries enough, at least for us to talk of; adding, that if more were found convenient, we might resolve them afterward.

I then asked his Lordship, if he would please to communicate his Thoughts to me upon any further Demands which the Queen had to make, and that we might discourse on them still in Confidence as before; He told me, he would communicate some to me, but that there were some Things, which he would not mention, till he had further Instructions.

He told me, that hitherto *England* had acted the generous Part in all the Treaties that had been made, and that the Allies had thought fit to let her do so, without shewing any Concern for her Interest, as if the Queen had no Interest of her own to pursue; or that the Allies had no Interest to look after but their own: That the Ministry, tho' it was not only Justice to the Queen, and doing
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their Duty to their Country, but it both recommended them and the Treaty also to the whole Nation ; that something should be stipulated for the Honour and Advantage of *Great Britain*, and that particularly respecting her Commerce, and the Increase of her Naval Strength, and Foreign Dominions: His Lordship stopp'd here a while, as if he expected I should say something to it ; but I desired him to go on, and if he pleased, to descend to Particulars.

He said, he would give me an Abstract in Writing of what he had digested as proper for the Queen to demand ; but that he would be so just to me, as to let me know what was his own Thoughts only, and what was the Opinion of other People ; for he would always tell me plainly, what he said of himself, and what he was directed to say ; upon this, he pulled out two Schemes, and put them into my Hands.

I took them ; but before I had opened them, I told him, that as I took these as private Papers, only to peruse for my own Observation ; so he could not expect He and I should debate them, for that would be to enter upon the Negotiation directly ; *Well*, said my Lord, *but we may*
talk

talk over them a little: I told him, I did not know whether it might be proper for us to go so far or not; But this I would do with his Lordship, (*viz.*) That when I had read and considered the Demands, I would draw up Heads of a Proposal on our Part, for him to make the same Use of, as I did of his Papers: This fully satisfied his Lordship, and thereupon I opened both his Papers, which I found Docketted thus.

On the One. Proposals given me by the Queen, but written by Mr. S——— own Hand, to be shewn to the *Frenchman*.

On the Other. My own Scheme of Demands for *England*.

The first Paper was as follows.

1. That Restitution be made of all that has been taken from the *English* in *America* during the whole Course of the War, and a Compensation in Money, for the Loss at *Nevis*, and *St. Christopher's*.

2. That *Newfoundland* be entirely given up, and the *French* not permitted to carry any Fish on the Shore of that Island.
3. That the Islands, commonly called the *Canaries*, shall be delivered to the *English* entirely, with the Sovereignty thereof.
4. That the City and Forts, Harbour and Puntals of *Cadiz*, shall be always garrison'd by the *English*; the Civil Government, Customs, and other Revenues, to remain to the King of *Spain*, except 300000 Pieces of Eight yearly, to discharge the Pay of the Garrison, the Expence of the Magazines, and the Repair of the Works; and that in lieu thereof, *Gibraltar* be given back to the King of *Spain*.
5. That a free Trade be granted for the *English*, to the *Spanish West-Indies*.

6. That the Customs upon *English* Manufactures in *Spain*, be ascertained and reduced.

The second Paper, consisting of more moderate Demands, and which my Lord acknowledged to me to be his own, was as follows.

Heads of Conditions to be proposed to *France* on the Side of *Great Britain*, in Case of a Treaty.

1. That the whole Island of *St. Christopher's*, be put into Possession of the Queen of *Great Britain*, in Sovereignty; saving nevertheless the Property of the Inhabitants, who shall become Subjects of the Queen of *England*, and shall be allowed to stay or depart, sell and purchase, as they see fit.
2. That the whole Island of *Newfoundland*, be put in Possession of the Queen of *Great Britain* in Sovereignty, and the *French* entirely prohibited carrying their Fish on Shore in any Part thereof.
3. That

3. That all that has been taken in *America* during the War, except as above, shall be reciprocally restored, and Prisoners released, except Slaves, which are esteem'd as Merchandize.
4. That the Island of *Minorca*, with the whole Forts, Castles, Harbours and Ports, especially *Port Mahon*, be given to her Majesty in full Propriety and Sovereignty for ever.
5. That the Town of *Gibraltar* and a certain extent of Land, not exceeding three Miles without the Works, remain to the Queen, &c.
6. That certain Conditions shall be entred into, with needful Privileges for the *English* Merchants, to Contract with the *Spaniards* for the Asiento, or Trade to *America* in Negroes, with such a limited Trade to *America* as shall be agreed.

I told his Lordship, on reading his two Papers, That his own was much the more Reasonable, and Practicable of the Two. He Answered, he did not see but they were both Practicable, if

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the King of *France* thought fit to grant them; but that the Improbability of that had restrained his Thoughts in several Demands that he had considered.

I told his Lordship I thought they had given their Thoughts a full Latitude, who had contrived the first Paper, and that I hardly knew what more they could think of that had the least shew of Reason in it, or which they could desire we should Grant.

Yes, said my Lord, I know several Things we could ask, and which would be very useful to us. We could demand you should quit to us the French Colony at *Canada*, and the Fortress of *Quebeck*, which is a Thing makes all our Northern Colonies very uneasy: We could demand the Island of *Martinico*, and all your Settlements at *St. Christopher*, or any where else in *America*, where you daily give great Disturbances to our Commerce, and a great many other things. I told his Lordship it's true, they might demand what they pleased; but there was no Pretence for it, and that which could not reasonably be Demanded, it might be said it could not be demanded at all.

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However, to make my Promise good to my Lord, I took the Pen and Ink, and began to write as if I had been an Englishman, Thus.

Heads of Demands on the Part of Great Britain, in case they make a Peace with France.

1. That the whole Island of *St. Christophers* be put into possession of the Queen of *Great Britain* in Sovereignty; saving nevertheless the Property of the Inhabitants, who shall become Subjects of the Queen of *England*, and shall be allowed to stay or depart, sell and purchase, as they see fit.
2. That the whole Island call'd *Terra Nova* be restored to the *English* in Sovereignty, but giving the *French* leave to carry their Fish on certain Places in the Island, such as shall be agreed on.
3. That all that has been taken in *America* during the War, except as above, shall be reciprocally restored, and Prisoners released, except Slaves, which are esteem'd as Merchandize.
4. That the Island of *Minorca*, with the whole Forts, Castles, Harbours

and Ports, especially *Port Mahon*, be given to her Majesty in full Propriety and Sovereignty for ever.

5. That the Town of *Gibraltar* and a certain extent of Land, not exceeding three Miles, without the Works, remain to the Queen, &c.

When I presented this Paper, I told him his Lordship might see that I took his Demands to be, the most Reasonable, and that I took my rise from the Aim he gave me: But why then, said he, do you leave out the Article of the *Spanish Trade*? Our People will be very fond of that Part.

I told him I would fully satisfy his Lordship in that Point, That as to the Proposal in the first Paper, it was evident it was not proposed with Judgment; for that, should it be granted, it would immediately put the World into Confusion; for the *Spaniards* would never suffer King *Philip* to grant it at all; the *Dutch* would never suffer the *English* to enjoy it exclusive, and the *French* could never agree to let the *Dutch* have it, and see themselves shut out: So that to propose a Free Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, would not depend upon *France* to grant; but would be

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Opposed by even the Confederates themselves, and create jealousies and uneasinesses among all the People of Europe, and as to his Lordship's Articles of separate Agreements with the *Spaniards*, it was a Matter of private Interest, which would be proper to be moved when the Treaty was entred upon, and I dare to say the King of *France* would not oppose it.

All this while we had been only in Confidence, discoursing of what might, or might not be the Subject of a Treaty, when such a Thing might be set on Foot; but we had not so much as named the Manner of introducing a Treaty, which was the main Thing I came about, and which I watch'd an occasion to begin, and thought I had found it now; so I moved it to him. When his Lordship gave an Answer, which I did not expect, because I never thought that the New Ministry in *England* had been in any apprehensions of being deposed by Force. My Lord turning short to me said, Pray Sir adjourn that a little further, I have something of Moment to mention still, before I can give you an Answer, whether we can treat with you or not, and this I must do upon the utmost assurance of Secrecy. *My Lord,*
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said I; *The Honour the King has done me, in the Trust now reposed in me, Qualifies me to expect your Lordship will believe me to be C HOMNUE DE PA, I assure you not a Word of what you shall think fit to Communicate to me, shall go out of my Mouth, but to the King himself.*

Upon this he told me he would open himself in a Case which was of the last Consequence, and perhaps very few, if any, were yet let into it, except the Queen and himself, and it was this, viz. That the Whigs were so insolent in their opposition to the Queen's Measures, that it was not without some Reason, that her Majesty had entertained a Notion, that they would some time or other attempt to force her into their own Measures; in which Attempt they were but too certain of Foreign Assistance, and too many of them having Commands in her own Armies, might perhaps attempt to employ her own Troops against her; presuming upon their Credit with the Souldiery, and reviving the old Rebellious Fanatical Notion, of taking up Arms against the Authority of the Sovereign, but not against her Person: That as this was no trifling Thing, and her Majesty had reason to believe

' believe some considerable Hands were
 ' embark'd in it, there was just Reason
 ' to suppose, that upon the first Ru-
 ' mours of a Treaty being on foot with
 ' *France*, they would make some, taking
 ' such a thing for a popular Handle,
 ' and a Pretence sufficient to justify what
 ' ever Violences they might offer to the
 ' Ministry.

' That the Queen had already taken
 ' Measures to blow up such a design,
 ' and to Support and Defend her Ser-
 ' vants in the Execution of her Com-
 ' mands, and would in a very little time
 ' so purge the Army and Fleet, that she
 ' would have no Man in any considera-
 ' ble Command, but such as might be
 ' depended upon: *But that*, as such
 ' things could not be made too secure,
 ' so it was not an improper Question to
 ' ask him, *if they might rely upon such As-*
 ' *sistance*, upon any emergency as should
 ' support the present Ministry in the pur-
 ' suit of their Duty, tho' such an incident
 ' should occur as the Surprise of the
 ' Queen; and that her Person, *which God*
 ' *forbid*, should be hurried from them,
 ' her Majesty being resolved to leave such
 ' Instructions under her Royal Authority,
 ' as should justify the Ministers, even in
 ' disobeying any Orders which should be
 ' issued

issued in her Name, or even under her own Hand, unless she was at full liberty to come and go where she pleased, and that no appearance of restraint was upon her.

I was really surpris'd at this Motion, and I took the freedom to assure his Lordship, that in such a horrid Case, *which I told him, yet hoped,* they need not be apprehensive of, they might depend upon it, that the King would stand by her Majesty, or her Servants, with all his Forces; and I gave him my Word, that before any thing was entred upon, and as soon as I had had but a little Conversation with his Lordship on the manner of Introducing a Treaty, I would return to *France*, that I might Communicate that Point to his Majesty Personally, and would Charge my self with his Answer, which I made no doubt would be to his Satisfaction, and that such Measures might be taken as would effectually make her Majesty easy on that Subject.

My Lord appeared very well satisfied with what I had said upon that Head, and told me, he made no Question, but in a little time they should be in a better Posture, and that the Queen would let
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the Whigs know, *what it was* to go about to make her uneasy *on* the Throne: *That* it was never known, that Subjects not in actual Rebellion, opposed the Measures of their Sovereign so avowedly, and with so much open Insult; *That* it was impossible Men of Sense could act in the manner that some of them acted in, if they were not encouraged to it by some Persons of a greater Power than themselves: *That* her Majesty was treated by them with the most unsufferable indecency, and her Ministry with the last Contempt: That some had openly threatned the Treasurer with the Resentment of the Successor, and others had been *so open*, as to speak plainly, that they would take other Measures when the Duke of Marlborough came home: That it was time to make Provision for their own Safety, and to put the Queen in a Condition to resent such Treatments, and to Protect her faithful Servants; otherwise no Gentleman would venter to Serve, and she would fall into the Hands of the same People again, which of all things in the World was her greatest Aversion.

I replied, that as they had notice of such things as these, they could not want means to prevent them; and I need

need not remind him what course other Princes had taken on such like Occasions, and repeated again the Promises of powerful Assistance from *France*, if her Majesty's Affairs should require it; concluding, that such an Affair, as that ought not to be neglected, but was of the highest Consequence to begin early with.

He answered, the Queen relyed on the Vigilance of the Treasurer who, as his Intelligence was good to discover these things, and that he was already Master of some of their most secret Consultations; so he went on so steady in his Measures, that he met them at every turn, work't thro' every difficulty with an intrepid Courage, and unexpectedly defeated them in every Attempt they made; but he said their Constitution was such in *England*, that no Force could be used till some Violence was offered; on the other side, that in order to prevent their Enemies, they had begun to break several Officers, and calmly dismiss others whose Passion had been too warm for their Discretion, and that as soon as the Duke of *Marlborough* came home, his Commissions wou'd be superseded, and he would be laid by; not that they could believe the Duke was

was capable of any thing so Disloyal, as some had suggested, yet as other People boy'd themselves up with his Name, and depended upon the Influence which he had in the Army, and among the People, it was absolutely necessary to reduce him to a private Condition, to humble those who had folly enough to expect things from him, not fit to be Nam'd : That if the Duke was hardly treated in this, it must be esteem'd a Misfortune, brought upon him by the ill Conduct of those, who would be thought his Friends, seeing some of the General Officers in the Army had already publicly affronted the Queen, drinking openly to the Confusion of the New Ministry, and pretending to stand by their General the Duke of *Marlborough*.

I smiled when I heard this, and answered, that had this been in the Armies of the King my Master, those Gentlemen had had little more to do, than to ask the way to the Bastile, and send for a Priest to Confess them. That if a due subordination was not preserved, Government was destroy'd of Course. That I would not enquire into the Laws and Usage of *England*, but I had served in the Field when I was a younger Man,

Man, and I never saw any thing of a disrespect to the Sovereign pass unresented in the Army in my Life ; That Kings and Queens if they lose their Power to punish insolence in their Military Men, they became from that Moment dependants upon their own Servants, and cannot any more be called Sovereigns ; I added, that I could not believe the Queen of *Great-Britain* wanted means to make such Men know themselves, or wanted Council to direct the Methods proper to proceed by in such Cases. That I was very glad her Majesty had taken such Vigorous Resolutions, and that my Lord Treasurer shewed himself to be a Man of Council, in striking at the Root, for that nothing was more certain than that the Head of a Faction being removed, the Consequences were quicker and more effectually upon the rest.

I would fain have informed my self, who the Government had fixed their Thoughts upon, for the Command of the Army after the Duke of *Marlborough* should be removed ; for it was a thing of great Consequence to our Affairs ; but I could not find an Opportunity to mention it, being unwilling in my Conference

rence with this Noble Person, to shew the least sign of a desire to get Information of things; for as he dealt with me from the beginning with great plainness and sincerity, I contented my self with what Discoveries came naturally from the rest of his Discourse, which indeed were not few, but which if I had seemed forward to enquire, would have been restrain'd.

I failed not that very Evening to dispatch a Courier to the King, with this Piece of News, which I knew would be very acceptable; I mean of the Resolution taken to displace the Duke of *Marlborough*, felicitating his Majesty upon an Event which could not but be fruitful of many Advantages to his Interest; and tho' I found, that it would be sometime before this Resolution would be put in Execution, yet, as I could easily foresee that their own Circumstances would oblige them to do it, and that already the Breach was so wide between them, that there was no danger of it being ever made up, but by the fall either of one Party or other, I was the less concern'd for the time; nor was it so much material to us upon the Account of who succeeded in that

that high Post, as it was on the Account of its less'ning the Confidence which the Allies had placed in him, as to Management of the Army, and indeed of all other Affairs, whereby *Great-Britain* being as it were placed at the Head of the Confederacy, they were brought to act, not separately and slowly, as formerly, which was the very thing that Constantly gave our King the Advantage over them; but Vigorously and united as one Body of which, the Duke a Politick, a Fortunate Man, being General of the *Dutch Army* as well as of the *English*, was the Military Head.

Its true, I had the Misfortune to give the King a wrong guess at the Man who was to succeed, which I took from the talk of the Town, (I mean the Duke of *Argyle*) but as I did not give his Majesty that Account as a Thing done, but only reported, so this was known that it was no more than he push'd for, and expected, and was Irreconcilably disgusted; for being deny'd it, and the King was the less concerned at my Mistake, because when I had an Opportunity to rectify it, the Person who was next named, was so much more agreeable to his Majesty, and gave him still so much

much greater hope from the Change, as he had made a Confidence to me, of the Concern they were in about the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Violent Measures of the *Whiggs*; so I told him I must Communicate some Thoughts to him, which concerned the King of *France*, and I hoped they would have the same Consideration for his Majesty's Interest, as they found his Majesty was ready to have for theirs; that they saw the inveterate Fury of some Men in the World, against that Glory which they never had Opportunity to match before, and how some Men were willing to push the War to Extremity in hopes by the Destruction of Kingdoms, and shedding Blood to enrich and Aggrandize themselves, that his Majesty's Designs were sincerely to restore Peace to the World, and that not more for Apprehensions of the Fate of the War, in which it was apparent, he had been the superior for Two Years past, altho' it was true, he had suffered losses before, but that the Calamities of *Europe* called for some Relaxation, *that the Sword might not devour for ever*, tho' nothing was more agreeable to his Majesty, than to find the Queen entertain the same Sentiments of Peace; and that her Majesty's good Dispositions for putting

ring an end to the War, had the same Reason and Foundation: That it might not therefore be in the Power of the Allies to frustrate their good Designs. His Majesty proposed this as a Secret Article, (*viz.*) That after the Conditions respecting her own Dominions are yielded and agreed to, it shall be mutually endeavoured to give reasonable Satisfaction to the Demands of all the Allies, of which reasonableness, his Majesty is content the Queen shall be the sole Judge and Arbitress, and which if accepted, the Peace will according to the Desire of both their Majesties, be General and Universal; but that if the Allies shall refuse to accept of such Satisfaction as her Majesty shall Judge to be reasonable, and shall absolutely refuse to put an end to the War, that then and in such Case, her Majesty will withdraw her Forces from the Allies, and declare the Confederacy so far at an end, concluding the Peace on the Conditions agreed on for her self, and for so many of the Allies as shall accept and come into the same within 20 Days after; and this his Majesty Consents shall be a secret Article.

His Lordship, told me, he saw nothing in this but what was highly reasonable,

sonable, and he would represent it accordingly to the Queen.

We had now gone thro' every thing it was desir'd we should talk of in this manner; and I beg'd his Lordship that he would give me some light into the main Difficulty which I had before me, (*viz.*) how I should make any Proposal to the Ministry; but I was very much surpriz'd, when his Lordship told me it was impossible.

I know not how it came about, nor how they manage their Affairs in *England*, but certainly the Whigs had their Spyes nearer the Queen's Person, and Councils, than these Men imagin'd; for however, they gave me all the Cautions imaginable; and that on my side, there was not the least possibility that any Suspicion could happen, yet somehow or other the thing took Air; either the Jealousy of the Whigs lead them to suspect it, or they charged the Ministry with it upon a Presumption; or they found by the frequent secret Meetings of some particular Persons with the Queen; that something extraordinary was doing, and so they guess at the rest, or the thing it self was betray'd to them by one of those who was intrusted;

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however it was, I say, the thing took Air, and as the Whigs industriously improved the Time, it was in a Moment spread over the whole Kingdom, that, *the New Ministry were carrying on a private Negotiation with France.* There wanted not People also, who daily spread the Report, with such Confidence, as if they had been privy to every Step that had been taken, tho' that they had any scent of the thing it self as it stood, I never saw Cause to believe. But certainly there is not a Nation in the World like *England*, for imposing on the People with false Rumours, nor a People easier to be imposed upon, even by things which have not the least probability, and indeed by some that are scarce rational.

This was the Reason why when I came to discourse with my Ld—— about the manner of Introducing a Treaty to the Ministry, he answered, that it was impossible? *What then have we been doing my Lord,* said I, *and what are we farther to do;* I profess, says he, *I know not what to say to one or other;* and therewith he told me, how the thing was blown, and how it was in the Mouth of every one already, that they were making a seperate Treaty with

with *France*; that there were private Agents here from the King of *France*; and in a Word, that the Treaty was concluded, and that they had made a seperate Peace.

Would to God, my Lord, said I, *they were not mistaken who say so*. I added, that I knew nothing would be more for the Service of *Europe* than that *it were* done, neither could any thing be more for their Advantage who report it; however they might think they insult the Queen by the Rumour; and speaking with some Warmth, I said, *you have nothing to do*, my Lord, *but to go thro' with it*, that they may find their Account, and rejoyce in that very thing which they pretend to complain off.

You do not know our People, Sir, says my Lord, *they would cut our Throats just now*, if they could come at the Knowledge of such a Thing.

I was very much concerned at his saying this, and ask'd him what was to be done.

He answered, that they must put all to a stop for the present, and the Queen must publickly disown such a Thing.

by a formal Speech to the Parliament, declaring that she never intended, and was resolved not to make a Seperate Peace, or any Peace at all, but in Conjunction with her Allies.

I reflected on this occasion with some Concern, upon the miserable Condition of Princes who Govern by the Administration of Contending Parties, and are made to Speak, whether true or false, what the Heads of those Parties Dictate; *now* this way, *now* that way, and make all they are thus taught to say, pass as the result of their own Thoughts, and agreeing with their own Judgment, which at the same time had *bona fide* no Concern in it whatsoever.

However, in this Case, they had many ways to solve what the Queen was to say, as (1) This putting a real Stop to our present Negotiations, justified her Majesty's saying there was no seperate Treaty on foot. (2) That part of what we had Proposed, *viz.* That in a Treaty Satisfaction should be given to all their Allies, supported her Majesty in saying, that she would do nothing but in Participation with all her Allies.

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Whether they ever put the Queen upon saying these Things, either to her Parliament or Council, or otherwise I have not Observed; perhaps the Consternation wore off in some time, but it's certain, they were very much alarmed at the Discovery of a *Secret Negotiation*; the rather, because they began to look on one another with a kind of Jealousy, which I know not how to describe; as every one was ready to charge the other with having betray'd the Secret, which notwithstanding all that was said, I have Reason to believe, was never discover'd at all; *and the rather, because* that when some time after this, a Person, who they had Confidence enough in, to send over into *France*, to set the Affair at work again, began to discourse about these things at *Paris*, it appeared that Person had no knowledge of what had passed, or that any Person had been in *England* on the same Subject. He knew it seems, that something had past between the King and the English Court, but nothing at all of the manner, or of the Persons concerned.

I was now at a full stop for some Time, for the Ministry in *England* were very uncertain in their Resolutions, and often times disconcerted in their Measures,

being embareſſed with the Diviſions among their People, and the Inflammations which their particular oppoſers raiſed againſt them.

Two things ſupported them. (1) The ſteadineſs of the Queen, guided by her own averſions to ſome of the other People, and eſpecially by her Reſentments of the Affronts, which it was ſaid had been offered her by ſome of the Women about her Perſon, and (2) the moſt exquisite Management of the Treasuſer, who being now abroad again, after the Indiſpoſition, occaſioned by the Wound he had received from Count *Guiſcard*, and purſuing his firſt Schemes, had carried every Point in the Parliament, as well among the Deputies or Commons, as among the Nobility.

I waited 'till theſe Things took their Courſe, and was concerned to ſee the Anxieties, in which the Courtiers very often appeared, eſpecially upon the Niceties of any Vote which was coming on in the Parliament, even the Queen herſelf was ſo concerned for fear things ſhould ſome time or other miſcarry, that ſome of the Ladies about her, frequently reported, that it caſt her into Fits; but if the reſt of the Miniſtry were

were thus Anxious and Concerned, it was my settled Observation, that the Treasurer appeared always in the greatest Tranquility: When ever he went to the Queen, it was observed, he left her Majesty chearful, tho' she was to the last degree Chagrin, when he came.

It was never my Fate to have any secret Conference with this Eminent Person, during the first of my being in *England*: I frequently saw him, and had the Honour afterwards of entring into many Discourses with him; but then not at all. He was easy of access at all times; but it was much easier to talk long with him upon trifling and common Occasions, than to obtain a Moment in serious Business; in so much, that I have heard of some who have waited upon him, by his own appointment, on Business of the Greatest Consequence, and have been entertained by him, from one Hour to another, on some Trifle, 'till at last the main Affair has been confin'd to a Minute or two, or perhaps deferred to another Occasion.

And yet at that very time he digested all the Affairs of the Administration,

and supported all those difficult Schemes by himself, and that with so much cheerfulness and calmness, as was surprising to a Stranger : But it seems, others, who afterwards supplanted him with the Queen, charged him with meer Indolence and Negligence, and loaded him with Reproaches, for being unconcerned for all his Friends, after he had secured his private Interests. How it might be since I came from *England*, I know not ; but when I was there, he was the last Resort in the utmost Exigencies, and if the Treasurer was easy, every one was so ; the Reputation of his Conduct made every Man Serene, and if he Smiled, it was supposed that he knew his Measures, and knew more than other Men. How they came to dispute the Administration with him afterwards, I know not ; but I hear it is agreed on all Hands, that his Reputation declines, and that he is not so well with the Queen as he used to be ; which, however I shall not repine at, because I had some Reason to think him less our Friend at Last, than I had found him to be at First. If this is so, I must be content to be of their Opinion, who thought he was not so Sincere with us, as he ought to have been, and that since the Peace (*which he aim'd at for private Reasons*)

Reasons) is obtained, he would be for making his Court to the House of *Han-*
nover, at the Expence of his Mistress,
and of all his Friends.

Indeed he acted a most wary Part in the
Affair of the Peace; for he would scarce
ever transact any thing himself, but
put off every Man to Confer with
other People; contenting himself to be
the First moving Cause of every Thing,
without being really concerned in any
of the Particulars: What the Reasons of
these Prudentials were, perhaps Time
may discover.

However it was, I had not waited long,
but the Necessities of their own Circum-
stances, brought them to entertain some
Discourses with me again; and I might
easily perceive the Affair of Peace was
as absolutely necessary to the Ministry
in *England*, as it was to the King of
France, or as it would have been, if the
Duke of ——— had been encamped
on the Plains of *Compeign*. I remember
I had this very Contemplation on the
Subject, one Evening, when I received
Letters from *France*; wherein the King
gave me express Orders to wait quiet-
ly, and push nothing yet; for *these*
were the Words added by the King's own
Hand

Hand: The Affair of displacing the Duke of M—— will do all things for us as we desire.

The King's Opinion, which seldom fail'd to be right, and which often times shewed, that his Majesty made a better Judgment of things at a Distance, than his Ministers could do upon the Spot, *proved right here also*; for, *as I said*, the Ministry finding nothing could Support them, but to quit their Hands of the War, and to have the King of France to be their Friend, *took new Measures*, and my Lord ——— came to me one Evening, and told me, he desired to renew the Conferences with me, upon some very nice Points. I seemed less forward than formerly; *tho' not so as to give him any Offence*, and I let him know, that I thought we had given our selves a great deal of trouble last time, about nothing: He said, *that was true*, but I might easily see they could not avoid it, and that their Circumstances *were such*, that they could by no means act otherwise than they did; That I ought not to take it ill, because it was plain, it was neither want of Respect to me, or want of a sincere desire to come to Terms of Peace, *which was the happy End I was employed to bring to pass*; but that they had so many
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Eyes upon them, and so many Enemies about them, that it was absolutely Necessary, for them to break off all Correspondence ; and particularly, because they suspected there was some body among them that was not true to the rest, *and that very near the Queen too,* and yet with all their Industry, they could not tell who to Charge, no not so much as who to Mistrust.

That it had been suggested, that the Duke of S—t was the Person, or his Dutcheſs; but ſays my Lord, *We could not ſuſpect him, becauſe we had Communicated nothing to him, and the Queen would not let us ſo much as think it poſſible of his Wife ; nay, when ſhe was but Named, the Queen declared ſhe would answer for her, and bid us ſay no more about it.*

That for this Reason, they were afraid of every Body, tho' they could Charge no body, and being very uneaſy at the Rumour of a Treaty, they were obliged to give it over for a while; but that now they had reſolved to have the Rumour ſpread on their ſide, while there was really nothing doing, that the Whigs might be amused with Generals, and be able to dive into no Particulars.

I cannot say, but as they were stated in *England* at this time, this was a good Thought enough, and they pursued it as well; for they caused Reports to be spread in *Holland*, of a Negotiation privately set on foot in *England*, and that it was avowedly carried on by the Ministry, tho' they concealed the Persons they treated with: That there were two *French* Agents come to *London*, who appeared Publickly, tho' without any Character, and as these Rumours were continually Cultivated, they came at length to Report, That the said Negotiations went very well on, that the Peace advanc'd apace, and that it was expected, in a few Days, the Ministry would declare themselves upon it: Nor was this all; but they went on to give about privately, *Schemes of the Peace it self*, and Heads of the Preliminary Articles, quite remote from the real Things of which we had Discours'd, and yet calculated to employ the Speculations of the People, and prompt them to discourse frequently of the Thing.

Nor was this all, but as all publick News flies from Shore to Shore, Letters were written every Post of it from *Holland*, and the Dutch were made uneasy to the last degree; nay so perfectly was the

the true Design covered, that an Agent the Court of *France* had at the *Hague*, wrote to the Court about it, as of a thing Certain, and the King himself seem'd a little amused about it, knowing what Order I had, and how constantly I had acquainted him with the full Stop we had been at for some time, and how I had receiv'd his Majesty's Order to let it continue in that Posture for a while: But it was not many Days before I gave his Majesty the Eclaricissement in that Affair, and the King was exceedingly pleased with the Stratagem, and indeed his Majesty had reason.

It was the pleasantest thing in the World, to see how all the Confederates were alarmed at those Rumours. The Envoys and Residents at *London*, were tormented with the Reproaches of their Masters, who complained, that having sent them to reside at the *British* Court, to take care of their Interest, they should sit still, and let a Negotiation of that Consequence go on in so publick and open a Manner, and give them no notice of any of the Particulars, nor so much as write for further Instructions, how to Act on such an Occasion. Upon this they came buzzing about the Court,

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were Inquisitive, Uneasy, and so Importuning, that had it not been diverting to the Ministry on another Account, it would have made them very uneasy.

I should have mentioned, That not only these Rumours were raised in *Holland*; but Letters written, as if coming from the *Hague*, were secretly sent to the writers of the *Publick Gazetts*, and of News Prints in the City of *London*, who Printed openly in their Articles from the *Hague*, the Account given there of the Progress made in *England*, in the Secret Negotiations of Peace, and some times a Sketch of the Articles they were upon.

This being Printed in *England*, and no enquiry made of the Writer, to punish him for such an open Publication, or to demand his Authority for it, left the People abroad, no room to doubt of the Truth of Fact. It is impossible to discribe the Confusion the Whig Party were in, the Great ones, and those of the most Penetration, could make nothing of it, the Ministry denied it with all possible Seriousness, as well they might; all the Vigilance, all the Observation, and Conjectures, all the Spies and Secret Attempts for a Discovery

very in this matter came to nothing: The Court was still and quiet, the Ministry appeared busied upon other things; nor was there the least appearance of any thing of this kind; *for the truth was*, that not one Step was all this while taken in the Matter.

When this had wearied the World some time, and as they thought long enough, my old Correspondent gave me Notice, that he would meet me again: When we were together, he began merrily with this Part; Well Monsieur, saies he, *How do you like this last Push; my Lord, says I, I think it is a Master-piece, and has done more than all that ever you have said or done before; all the Confederates think you have made the Peace, I know nothing to do now, but to be so kind to them, as to convince them, that they are not mistaken: Let that be as it will, says my Lord, we have yet the Pleasure of reproaching them with injuriously charging us, when we have no Hand in any such thing, and if we bring their Predictions to pass, we only do that which they abused us for, and we cannot, I think, do them a greater piece of Justice, than to make good what they have with so much Confidence, charged us with doing.*

I told his Lordship he knew the disposition of those People better than I; that as to the Temper of Parties in *England*, I thank'd God, it was new to me, that we knew no such thing in *France*; that I had hear'd much in *France*, of the Happiness of the People of *Great Britain*, on account of the Liberty they enjoy'd; but that I could not be perswaded to be of the Opinion, that to have the People above Government, or without Government, was to be called Liberty, or was capable of being thought Happiness; that it was true, our Kings were Absolute, and in that Respect, might in their Language be call'd Tyrants; but that I had rather be under any Tyranny, than that of Parties; that however, this was nothing to our Purpose; that his Lordship knew what Part I had to Act, and that I was ready to take my Measures from his Directions.

He Reply'd in short, *Truly Sir, I am very ill able to Direct you, proceed just as you please, we will do any thing as becomes us.*

My Lord, said I, if you give me Leave to appear in Publick, I'll wait on the Secretary of State, and produce my Credentials, and declare I come as an Envoy from
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the Most Christian King, to make her Majesty Proposals of Peace, and demand an Audience.

We are very unhappy, says my Lord, That in such a Case no Man durst be Civil to you; we should be obliged by meer Jealousy, even to treat you as rudely as the Dutch did, and perhaps putting a Guard upon you, convey you to Dover, and set you on shore at Calais.

What then must we do my Lord, said I, must I go back to the King, and tell him the Queen will hearken to no Treaty, but that the War must go on.

No Sir, says he, not that neither, we are resolved to agree with you if we can; but we must do it our own Way, and know not what way that is neither.

I mused a while upon this, uncertain what to say, or to do: I considered that all this was not a matter of Ceremony, but of Necessity; that I saw the Court was not only Sincere in the design of Peace, but earnestly for it, (and perhaps ruined without it) so I desired my Lord to Consider 'till the next Evening, when we were to meet, and that I would do so too.

Accordingly at the next Meeting he told me with an Air of Satisfaction, that he had found out a Medium, *which was this*, that I should return to *France*, that a private Gentleman should come into *France* without any Character, but as a Foreigner to satisfy his Curiosity; and that he should be desired there to bring a Message from the Secretary of State, or from the King to her Majesty, signifying, *THAT*, *his Majesty was inclined to make reasonable Proposals to the Queen of Great Britain, in behalf of her self and all her Allies, in order to prevent the further Effusion of Christian Blood, and to put an end to the Calamities of Europe: And that it was his Majesty's Desire, that a Person should be admitted to come over to England to make such Proposals.*

That upon receiving such a Message, her Majesty would return for answer, that, *as nothing was more her desire, than to bring this bloody War to an happy and lasting Peace, upon just and honourable Conditions; so she was very glad to hear his most Christian Majesty was inclined to make reasonable Proposals for that end; that if any such were made to her Majesty, she would Communicate them to her Allies; and she hoped his Majesty would cause such Proposals to be made, as might*

might give a reasonable Satisfaction to all the Allies, without which, her Majesty could do nothing in it: This was the result of all our Conferences at that time, and this was no more or less, than the beginning of the Journey of the famous Mr. Prior, who came into France upon this Errand; and although some Discourses were publish'd to the World, of a long Negotiation had with him here; I believe those Accounts to be Fictitious; at least, there was neither room or occasion for any such Negotiations, as ever I knew, all things being settled before he came, *as above.*

That he was treated with Distinction, may be true, as also, that he had the Honour to wait upon the King, and was frequently with the Marquis de Torcy, and others, between whom, Discourses on the Subject of a Peace, might be very natural to the Occasion, but that he appeared in a private Capacity, and could enter into no Treaty, I may say; nothing of granting or denying, demanding or insinuating, could be in reality the Subject of their Discourse; if Mr. P—r assumed the Liberty of making Demands, its what I never heard of in France, and what the Ministry always disown'd,

and even ridiculed, when I was afterwards in *England*.

The Business which that Gentleman appeared for in *France*, as far as I was acquainted with it, and as was concerted with my *Ld*—— as before; was no other than to come back, and let the Ministry know in *England*, that having been in *France* on his private Occasions, for which he had obtain'd a pass at such a time from the Marquis de *Torcy*, and likewise another in *England*; he had been desired by the said Monsieur de *Torcy*, to deliver a Message to her Majesty, or to her Secretaries of State by Word of Mouth, (*viz.*) *that as the most Christian King desired nothing more, than to contribute all his Endeavours to the re-establishment of a General Peace; His Majesty was inclined to make reasonable Proposals to the Queen, in behalf of her self, and all her Allies, &c. as before, if her Majesty would please to receive the same.*

With this Message it seems Mr. Prior charged himself, and as the Story was told in *England*, returned thither Incognito, but was stop't at his Landing near *Dover*, and detain'd by a Custom-House Officer, notwithstanding he had a pass from the Secretaries of State.

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Were it not that the People of *England* are the easiest to be imposed upon of any Nation in the Universe, when the Story that is told them suits the part they espouse, this Story could never have past in the World; it was a very improbable thing, that an Officer of the Customs, should stop a Person who had a pass in form from the Secretary of State, and I was assured afterwards, that this method of making publick, the bringing a Message from *France*, was concerted by the Ministry who knew best what purposes it was to serve.

Be that as it will, when Mr. Prior was thus known to have been in France, it was no longer a Secret, that he had brought such a Message, and perhaps this was the Reason of making his coming from thence Publick, to which it was also reasonable to add, that the Queen had given such an Answer as before, which Answer, none could object against, (viz.) that, as nothing was more her Majesty's desire, then to bring this bloody War to an happy and lasting Peace, upon just and honourable Conditions; so she was very glad to hear his most Christian Majesty was inclined to make reasonable Proposals for that end; and if any such were made to her Majesty, she would Communicate them to her

Allies, and she hoped his Majesty would cause such Proposals to be made, as might give a Reasonable Satisfaction to all the Allies; without which her Majesty could do nothing in it.

It was added to this Answer, in her Majesty's Name, THAT leave should be given to such Persons as his Most Christian Majesty should appoint, to bring such Proposals, which should be receiv'd and REFERENDUM; but that such Persons should do no more, than deliver such Proposals, and should not be admitted to enter into any Negotiations thereupon, or on any other Subject whatsoever.

During these Transactions, I received his Majesty's Leave to return to Paris, where I gave him a particular Account of all my Management, and had the Honour to have the King say, that it was to his Satisfaction. I entred, by his Order, in the next Place, upon some Explanations of the Preliminary Heads, which I had Discoursed of with my Lord —, and took the King's Observations upon them in Writing, for my Government in England, for it was very soon after my return to Paris, that the King let me know, that as soon as he had the Queen's Answer to the General Offer, of making
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Proposals, I should go to *England* again, in order to carry the Proposals Concerted before. And,

This was not long, for as every thing was adjusted before, what remained, was for *Form sake*, to put the thing into a Regular way.

Malice has generally a shrew'd Guess, and they who Speak worst, ofteneſt *Speak Truth*. I could not but smile when I came into *England*, and found the Proposals were receiv'd in Form, Adjusted, and made Publick; of which I shall say more presently; to see those People who opposed the Ministry there, enraged to the last degree; Satyrs were every where published, not only against the Proposals, but against the General Notion of making Peace at all; among which, this was Remarkable, and it is for the Sake of this, that I mention it, viz. That they upbraided the Ministry with having kept a private Intelligence, *Traitors they call'd it*, with the Court of *France* for a long time, contrary to their Engagements to the Allies, and Affirm'd confidently, that the pretence of receiving Proposals from *France*, and entering into a Treaty, was a *Comedy*, or rather a *Farce*, which

they put themselves to the Trouble to Act, only to amuse the People, that they might with as much Reason, and more Honesty, have told the Confederates, that the Queen having agreed with *France*, upon such Conditions for her self, and her Dominions, as she thought fit, the Confederates were at Liberty to do the same, or let it alone, as they thought fit; that they had left them all at full liberty to shift for themselves, and get the best Terms that *France* thought fit to Grant.

It must be confess'd, that this was very true in the Substance, tho' not in all the Particulars; but there were two things very odd in it. (1) How these People came to know this to be true, *if they did know it*, and (2) how they came to guess so punctually, if they did not.

If they had really known it, I thought they would also have known some of the Particulars, which I never could perceive they had any intimation of, except the Time, and that they had to a Day, (*viz.*) the very Day when my Lord — and I exchanged our Papers of Proposals; but for other Circumstances, I never hear'd that they Named any, which one may say they would
not

not fail to have done, if it had been in their Power.

However, this was the General News of the Whig Party in *England*, at the appearance of the Preliminaries, (*viz.*) That the Ministry had made a Private and Seperate Peace with *France*, several Months before the Preliminaries appeared, and that the Allies were betray'd, the Publick Faith broken, the Honour of Treaties Violated in the breaking of the Confederacy, and the Grand Alliance dissolved, and much more to that Purpose.

I do not take Notice of the Affairs of that unquiet People, more than Necessity obliges; therefore, I say nothing of the Consequences of these things to themselves, what ever common Fame had charged them with, as unfair in this Matter, the Ministry and the Queen herself were of another Opinion: *Also*, I am obliged to say, *that I think they had Reason*; for tho' it's true, that in Case the Preliminaries were adjusted, and a Treaty follow'd, the Queen had her Terms settled, as was afterwards the Case, yet it was in her Majesty's Agreement, that those Terms should not take Place, or her Majesty be Obligated by

by them, if the General Peace had not ensued.

But this was to be allowed, as I Noted already, that if the endeavours of the Queen, to bring the Allies to a Treaty, should prove ineffectual, and it should appear, that they stood Obstinate out, against a Proposal so just, as that of having all their Reasonable Demands fully satisfied by a Treaty, *which would be indeed pushing the War, for love of it*, that then the Queen would withdraw herself from the Alliance, and would adhere to the Terms agreed on for herself, and all such of her Allies as should think fit to accept the same. This was the *Secret Article* on our side, which I mentioned before, and which was so Reasonable, that it could not be Disputed; especially, since by that Separate Article, the Queen was made Judge of what should, or should not, be esteemed a *Reasonable Satisfaction*.

This was that well known and happy Clause, which occasion'd the *British* Troops the next Year to withdraw from the Confederate Army in *Flanders*; and which together with their own ill Conduct, and the superior Fortune of the *French*, brought the *Dutch* into the Peace, and

and in Consequence of that, put an end to the whole War.

I was now order'd back into *England*, from whence, I had not been long absent, and was preparing for my Journey, when the King sent me Orders to go to the Court of *St. Germans*, and take Instructions there, for some things which I was to charge my self with in my Journey to *England*.

I obey'd and attended at *St. Germans*, the next Morning, and was no sooner entered the Lodgings of the Queen Dowager of *England*, but the Earl of *Middleton* met me, and told me he had expected me some time, that the Queen had ask'd for me twice; and that her Majesty was in her Closet, and he was ready to introduce me.

Being brought in, after having the Honour to kiss her Majesty's Hand, she was pleas'd to tell me, she knew I was going to *England* upon a secret and important Negotiation; that she wish'd me good speed, and was resolv'd to expect that I would take care of her Affairs, and those of her Son; adding, that my Lord *Middleton* would discourse further

further with me about it, so I paid my Obeysance and with drew.

My Lord and I discoursed together a good while, and he shewed me several Schemes which they had laid; some for an attempt upon *England*, during *the Life of the Queen*, and some for the like *after her Death*; I told him, I could not think his Majesty would have me charge my self with a Negociation, for an Attempt on the Queen of *England's* Dominions, *during her Life*, at the same time that I was forming a secret Treaty of Amity and Reconciliation; that it was an Action very dishonourable, and that the King's whole Reign had never been stained with any thing like it.

My Lord *Middleton* is a Person Eminent for nothing in the Esteem of the *French*, but his having been long an Exile with the late King of *England*: He is the unfittest for a prime Minister of all the Men I have known, especially, if what his own Country-Men say of him is true (*viz.*) that he is not able to give Council, and is too Proud to ask it; indeed, his positive and unruly Temper, has had the Misfortune to be the most unguarded; and I have seen him

him Exposing himself and his Schemes in the most unaccountable manner ; he has this Peculiar however attending him, to mortify the haughtiest Temper in the World, (*viz.*) *that nothing that was undertaken by his Advice ever succeeded.* It was said he advised his Master King James to make that most dishonourable Attempt upon the Life of the Prince of Orange ; and that the Scheme for Assassination of that Prince, for which, Mons. Granval was Executed in Flanders, was of his forming, *which if true,* would add very little to his Fame ; that Contrivance being as foolish in its Scheme, as it was Villainous in its Practice ; a thing justly abhorr'd by all Christian Princes, tho' against their worst Enemies. I could give innumerable Instances of the weakest things in the World, which he put that unfortunate Prince upon, which caused him necessarily to Miscarry : If he had any share in the Councils of that King, before he so preposterously left his own Kingdoms, that would be a Reason to me, why I should the less wonder at many things which were done, that no Wise Prince ever did before him.

It was impossible for me to convince this Person, that while I was Employed by the King, on a secret Commission to the

the Queen of England, and was if possible to restore the good understanding between them, which at this juncture also was necessary to his Majesty's Affairs; it was not reasonable to believe his Majesty would suffer such a Project; as his was to go forward, much less, that I should negotiate such a thing in the Dominions of a Queen, who we were going to make a Friend of; however, I intreated him not to press me on that Head, till I had laid it before his Majesty, and received his Commands thereupon; I told him also, that it was dishonourable to the King to suggest such a thing of him; and I believ'd his Majesty would be very much displeas'd at it; that if her Majesty the Queen Dowager commadmed me to use my Endeavours to settle the Interest of her Son *the Chevalier*, with the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and to see what steps could be taken, for the securing the Succession to him after her Death, I would not fail to serve her to the utmost of my Power, and that I had some reason to believe I might have Success in such a Negotiation; but that the other was not at all fit for a Man of Honour under my Circumstances to be engaged in, and therefore I desired to be excused.

I stuck here, but was obliged to be even rude with him, before I could get from him, for all my Arguments were of no weight with him. As soon as I left him, I went directly to the King, who I found expected me, and with the greatest exactness, laid before him, as well what was desired of me, as on what Grounds I had declined it, and what I had offered to do.

The King was exceedingly mov'd when I told him this Story, and expressing his detestation of the Proposal, told me, I should go no more to *St. Ger-mains*, which I was very glad of, tho' I did charge my self afterwards, with his Majesty's Leave, with the other Branch of that Affair, as far as could consist with the Work I had in hand, and Proposed to render her Majesty some Service, and her Son also, only as far as moving the Queen of *Great Britain* and her Ministers, to espouse that Interest, for the Time, after her Majesty and her Heirs, of which I shall have occasion to say more.

This breaking off so absolutely, might, for ought I know, be the Reason of the sending the Abbot *Gualtier*, over in special Commission, to Negotiate that Affair; with whom I had several

veral Discourses, both in *England* and *Holland*: But as it was a Negotiation, which had very little Probability in it, as he designed to manage it, so I endeavoured to concert, as little as possible with him, any Measures about it; nor can I give any Account suitable to the Exactness of my Method, of the several Consultations which he had about that Affair, which makes me take less Notice of it here, than otherways I would have done.

The Abbot, as I was informed, had perswaded himself to believe, that if he could get admittance to a Private Conference with the Queen; I say he fancied, if he had but even Liberty of Speaking his Mind to her Majesty, tho' there were others Present, he should be able to give her such an Account of the dying Expressions of her Father, the late King of *England*, such Testimonies of the present King *James's* being really his Son, and of his protesting his Satisfaction of his being born of the Queen's Body, that he was satisfied would touch the Queen in so sensible a manner, as that her Majesty would be the less able to resist the Arguments he would bring afterwards to Prove, that she could never enjoy the
King.

dom of Heaven, without She delivered up the Crown to him *whose Right it is.*

I do confess, I was surpris'd to hear the Abbot *Gualtier* should Speak thus, who is an Ecclesiastick of the Catholick Church, seeing it had been first necessary for him to have acknowledg'd, that her Majesty might enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven, while she continued out of the Catholick Church, altho' she had with respect to the Case in Hand, restored the Crown to her Brother; and that therefore, a Proposal of that kind, was fit for none to insist upon, but a Protestant, or Hugonet, whose Arguments would not have been liable to the same Exception: But I had no reason to have made that Difficulty, if I had consider'd who the Proposal came from, and that some Men are so Opinionated, that they will support their own Notions, tho' with the grossest Absurdities.

However, as the *Abbot Gualtier* was charged with other Negotiations than this, when he was in *England*, he had room, I suppose, to satisfy himself, that the Method proposed, *if he did propose it*, was impracticable enough. I have hear'd indeed, that he did make the Attempt; but that there was not a Man amongst
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the Persons of Publick Business, who he had conversed with, that would bear so much as to stay in the Room with him, while he talked of it; much less undertake to give him an opportunity to move it to the Queen, nor indeed could he expect they should: But thus it often is, when our Ecclesiasticks turn Politicians.

I was now just ready to go over to *England*; the Probability of Success in my Negotiations, encreased every Day, and the Marshal *Tallard* prest the King by Letters every Post, to make a beginning, for that the Ministry in *England*, seemed in a Condition, something tending to a Crisis, and that they would very soon be past help, or in a Circumstance above the Occasion of it; which would be equally prejudicial to his Majesty's Interest.

Before I went, the King sent for me, and receiving me with an uncommon Chearfulness, *Mefnager*, says his Majesty, I am putting the Greatest Piece of Confidence in you, that it is possible for any Man to be trusted with, and you carry the Fortune of *France* in your Hand: If you manage this Point well, you serve me and save your Country; I need
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give you no other Instructions than you have already, except in two Things. First, as to the Secret Demands of Assistance, in case the Queen should be Insulted by her own Subjects, assure her Majesty, all the Forces of *France* shall be at her Service in such a Case; ' And if ' it may be to render her Service, I'll ' come in Person, *as old as I am*, with a ' Hundred Thousand Men, to support ' her; I charge you tell her these very ' Words.

' The other Thing, *continued his Majesty*, relates to the young King here: ' It will be acceptable to me, if you ' can render him any Service; and especially, if you can bring the new ' Ministry and the Queen into his Interest, and make way for his being ' placed on the Throne, after the Queen; ' but remember, if the main Affair of the ' Treaty requires it, *and the Queen insists upon it*, you must give him up to his ' better Fortunes, we must not be ruined ' on his Account, *entender Vous*, says the King twice together, *do you understand me*; I bowed, and told his Majesty, I perfectly understood his Mind, and thought also, that I saw his Interest in that particular, and would make both the Rule of my Conduct. I beg'd his

Majesty, that I might have frequent Instructions, as any thing offered, which the King told me should be done, and giving me his Hand to kiss, dismiss'd me, and I set out Post the same Evening for *Calais*.

I arrived at *London*, about the beginning of *September*, 1711, but did not appear publickly, 'till some days after; however, I signified to my old Correspondent, my Lord —, That I was arrived, and that I made no Question, I was furnished sufficiently, to Conclude the Great Work, to the Satisfaction, as well of the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the King my Master, as of all the Lovers of Peace in both Nations, and that I left it to his Lordship, to give Directions, in what Manner, and at what Time, I should make my self known.

My Lord detained the Gentleman I sent with this Message, near two Hours, which afterwards, as I understood, was 'till he had discoursed with another Person, and then, taking him into his Coach, came directly to me. I was a little Surprised at the stay he made; but my Lord made an Excuse for it, which was very obliging.

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We immediately enter'd upon the Business, and I shewed him the Heads of our Proposals, both as we left 'em in our former Discourse, and as they stood now; that I had brought them over new Modell'd, wherein some things were added, against my Inclination, and such, as I told the King expressly, would not go down in *England*, and were indeed not fit to be Proposed; *whereof, one was relating to the Article mentioned already, viz. That if the Confederates should stand out obstinately against the Treaty, notwithstanding that the Satisfaction his most Christian Majesty should offer to them, was found to be Reasonable, that then Her Majesty should withdraw from the said Confederates, and would adhere to the Terms adjusted for herself, &c.* To this, some of our wiser Heads in *France* had prevailed with the King, to add as follows, *viz. That if after her Majesty had so withdrawn from the Alliance, &c. if the said Confederates did not come into the General Peace, within one Year; but continued to carry on the War; that then the Queen should act with all her Forces, in Conjunction with his most Christian Majesty, to oblige them to accept of the Reasonable Satisfaction aforesaid.*

My Lord Complained of this Article, as well for the Substance of it, as the manner of its being put in, and told me, it was not only in vain to offer it, but that it was needless, and of no Values, and that it could be of no Service to us in *France* to have it, nor any Injury to leave it out; but that on the Contrary, all we could Propose would fall in of Course, without it, and yet, that to offer it, would be to put an End to the whole Treaty; for that not only they were assured the Queen would not hear it, but that no Minister of State durst Propose it to her, and if any one should advise the Queen to such a thing, he would be certain, in the next Parliament, to be Voted an Enemy to his Country, and perhaps sent to the Tower; which is the Bastile in that Country.

I was really very sorry I had this Clog upon my Commission, and especially, because nothing of this kind was mentioned, when Mr P—— was in *France*; which if it had, not unlikely, but I had been excused the trouble of a Journey to *England*, and sometimes I thought, that it was done on purpose, to render my Attempt Abortive, that another might have the Honour to finish the Negotiation which I had begun.

gun. Who it was should owe me such an ill Turn, I could not Imagine; but it gave me a great uneasiness for some Days.

In the mean time, my Lord and I went into the detail of this Clause; first he fell foul on the Article it self, *and tho' in respectful Terms*, told me, it was absurd, weak, and not fit to be offered, he was pleas'd in Compliment to tell me, that he durst say, I had no hand in putting it into the Proposals, and that they who did it, shew'd they knew little of the Affairs of *England*, much less as they were stated at that time; that it was enough to raise a Mobb all over the Kingdom against the Ministry, the Rage of whom they should be very ill able to withstand, nay, *and as things now stood*; the Queen herself might not be able to protect them, that I was to consider the different Interests of the two Nations, as to Religion, and how warm the People of *England* always were on that head; what a handle it would give on that account to the Whigs, and how popular they would make their Opposition be to the Ministry by that one Clause, that in a word, it would bring the common People as one Man into the other Interest, bring the Ministry into the ut-

most Contempt, and at length the Queen would be obliged to Sacrifice them to her own safety.

Upon the whole he told me, he must be very plain with me, that if I could not go from that Article in my Proposals, I had nothing to do, but take my leave and think of returning to *France*, for it was a thing they durst neither shew to the Queen, or the People.

Besides he told me he thought it was entirely useless, and to no manner of purpose, for that nothing was more certain than this, that if the Confederates absolutely rejected a Treaty, and resolv'd to carry on the War, it would first or last bring *England* into the War, or bring *France* out of a Condition to want Assistance; for first, if the Confederates were Victorious, it could not be expected that they would be long, before they shew'd their Resentment at *England*, and *Great-Britain* would be obliged to prevent the Ruin of *France*, lest they should be forc'd to come to Blows with the Confederates for deserting them: On the other Hand, if *France* having the *British* Forces withdrawn from their Enemies, should be Victorious, the Reason of the Article would cease; these Arguments were

were indeed of such Force, that I could not withstand them, so I desired we might let that part rest till last, and that we might enter upon the rest which he agreed to.

I failed not to represent this matter at large to the King, and dispatch'd it that very night, entreating his Majesty to accept of my Opinion in the matter, (*viz.*) that I must remit that part of the seperate Article, and insist no more on it, or that no Treaty could be made, and that if this opportunity was lost; it was very probable the Ministry in *England*, who his Majesty knew were disposed to his Interest, would be reduced, and the Queen be obliged to abandon them, and that then there was nothing to be expected, but from God and his Majesty's Sword; I omitted nothing to give the King a true State of the whole Affair, and left the result to his Majesty's Pleasure.

It is the delightfulest thing in the World to serve such a Master, as the King of *France*, no Prince in the World, allows his Agents more freedom to give their Opinion, in the Affairs they negotiate, or gives those freedoms and opinion more Weight, the King took every thing

thing I wrote just as I meant it, weigh'd the Particulars, agreed to my Opinion, and gave me exprefs Orders to infist no more on that part.

There was little else in the Proposals which gave us any difficulty, so I was admitted to appear in publick; I took Lodgings near St. James's, where the Court is kept in the Street call'd *Pal-mall*, where it was no sooner rumour'd that a *French* Minister of State, *such they were pleas'd to call me*, was arriv'd and lodg'd there; but the Rabble gather'd about the Door, and grew very troublesome; I was not apprehensive of any thing, but it seems it was heard of at Court, and my Lord ——— himself with two or three Persons of Quality, came immediately down to my Lodgings, they oblig'd me to stay within Doors all Day, and in the Evening I was led out thro' a private way, into another part of the Town, where I had Lodging provided for me, that were very Convenient, having a back Door into the Park, and where I was very easy; I made my Addresses to such Persons as it was proper, in which I took my rule from my Lord ——— But having no occasion for Audience, as an Envoy, I saw not the Queen, except in private; I waited
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Several times on the high Treasurer, and had frequent Meetings at his House, the Secretaries of State, and other Persons being present, but we rather discoursed than adjusted any thing there.

I must acknowledge my Negotiation in England, has given me a mean Idea of the People of Business there, I mean Court Business; the Methods they carry on to supplant one another, are so entirely their Study, and they are so given up to them, that I found very little Honour, Principle, Religion, Friendship, or Loyalty, but what on occasion was sacrific'd to Party, and *which was worse than all*, while one Party took the utmost Liberty to reproach the other with this part, they were themselves doing the same thing underhand, with those very Men upon whom they charg'd it, and this is certainly a Peculiar to that Nation; that they stick not in their party Quarrels, to treat one another reciprocally with the foulest Language in the rudest ungenteel manner, and unworthy stile, that I perswade my self is not practiced in any other part of the World; I met with so much of this in two Conferences, with some of the greatest Persons of
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the Court, once at the Treasurer's, and once at another Place ; that when I afterwards met with my old Correspondent my Lord — I took the Freedom to complain of it, and to enter into some Particulars ; for Example, I told him the Duke of *Marlbrough* was a Person whom I wish'd the Misfortune to be out of Favour with his Sovereign, because I was a Frenchman, and wish'd to see him no more at the Head of the Confederate Army in the Field, but I could assure him that the Duke of *Marlbrough* was in no place in *France* that ever I met with, treated in such a manner as I found he was, in the Conversation of the Tories ; for they gave him all the indecent Language that it was possible to express, even such as ill became their Quality and Birth, and the Politeness of a Court Education.

My Lord shook his Head and said it was very true, and he was sorry for it, but that such was the Rage of the Parties at that time, that it was impossible to avoid such usage. But Sir, says he, if you were to go among the Whig Party, you would find it the very same thing ; and that the High Treasurer, the Secretary of State, nay even the Queen herself were treated with the same

same indignity, and perhaps much worse.

My Lord, said I, then it must be certain that these things will one time or other break out into Blood, for no Men go to this height with one another, but such as resolve never to be reconciled; and if that be your Case in England, I wonder the less that you are so sensible of the necessity you are in of putting an end to the War Abroad; for its certain you cannot be long without a War at Home.

My Lord said, it could not be help'd at that time, but he hoped in a little while to get over it all.

It is an unhappy scandal upon our French Nation to be warm and rash, and indeed we were so in this Treaty, and had it not been for the Prudence of the King, we had been more to blame that way; but had it not been thus, we had made a much better Bargain in this Treaty; for the Ministry in England were plung'd so deep, that they were OUR OWN as we may say; and whereas it went for Current, that France was so reduced, that we must have yielded to whatever the Court of England desired, even to the giving the Char-
blane;

blank, the Case was just the reverse, for that had we stood out, the Ministry in *England* must have given us the *Chart-blanc*, at least, they must have yielded to whatever reasonable things we had demanded; and I found so much reason to be satisfied of the Truth of this; that I sorely repented the giving up *Dunkirk* to be Demolish'd, as a Preliminary for a Treaty, which by two Months longer delay, might have been secured at a much less Price.

It must not be forgot here, that the Ministry were in a terrible Fright, tho' it prov'd a false alarm, that the Dutch finding a Negotiation was set on foot in *England*, had made Overtures of a private Negotiation on their part, but I must acknowledge they wrong'd the Dutch; whether it was, because application was not made to them, or that they did not find proper Persons to offer too, I cannot say, but as we found in *England*, that this Rumour greatly disturbed the People at Court, so it made our Preliminaries pass with less Examination, and the ambiguous and doubtful Terms of those Articles, which related to the *Satisfaction of the Allies*, and the security against the Conjunction of the two Crowns, went down with the
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British Ministry, on that very Account as glib as we could desire.

I need say no more than this, of the few short *Debates* we had, the Substance being agreed before, the Heads of the Proposals were Signed by me the 27th of *September*, their Stile, the 8th of *October* our Stile, and delivered; and the very next Day they were made Publick, the Queen owning at Supper, that she had consented to a Treaty with *France*, and that she did not doubt, but in a little while she should see, what she had so long desired to procure, for the good of Mankind, (*viz.*) a General Peace in *Europe*.

The Particular Heads of this Proposal, which the World call'd Preliminaries, were as follows.

1. ' That His most Christian Majesty
' will acknowledge the Queen of Great
' Britain in that Quality, as also the
' Succession of that Crown, according
' to the present Settlement.

2. ' That he will freely, and bona
' fide, consent to the Taking all just
' and reasonable Measures for hin-
' dering, the Crowns of *France* and
' *Spain*

‘ *Spain* ever being united on the
 ‘ Head of the same Prince; his Ma-
 ‘ jesty being perswaded, That this Ex-
 ‘ cess of Power would be contrary to
 ‘ the Good and Quiet of *Europe*.

3. ‘ The King’s Intention is, That all
 ‘ the Parties engaged in the present
 ‘ War, without excepting any of them,
 ‘ may find their reasonable Satisfaction
 ‘ in the Treaty of Peace which shall be
 ‘ made: That Commerce may be re-
 ‘ establish’d and maintain’d for the fu-
 ‘ ture, to the Advantage of *Great*
 ‘ *Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other
 ‘ Nations who have been accusom’d
 ‘ to exercise Commerce.

4. ‘ As the King will likewise main-
 ‘ tain exactly the Observation of the
 ‘ Peace when it shall be concluded, and
 ‘ the Object the King Proposes to him-
 ‘ self being to secure the Frontiers of
 ‘ his Kingdom, without disturbing, in
 ‘ any Manner whatever, the Neigh-
 ‘ bouring States, he promises to agree
 ‘ by the Treaty which shall be made,
 ‘ That the *Dutch* shall be put into Pos-
 ‘ session of the fortify’d Places which
 ‘ shall be mention’d in the *Netherlands*,
 ‘ to serve hereafter for a Barrier, which
 ‘ may secure the Quiet of the Repub-
 ‘ lick

lick of *Holland* against any Enterprize
from the Part of *France*.

5. ' The King consents likewise, That
' a secure and convenient Barrier should
' be form'd for the Empire, and for the
' House of *Austria*.

6. ' Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost
' the King very great Sums, as well to
' acquire it, as to fortify it; and that
' 'tis farther Necessary to be at very
' considerable Expence for razing the
' Works, his Majesty is willing, how-
' ever, to engage to cause them to be
' demolish'd immediately after the Con-
' clusion of the Peace; on condition,
' that for the Fortifications of that
' Place, a proper Equivalent, that may
' content him, be given him; and, as
' *England* cannot furnish that Equiva-
' lent, the Discussion of it shall be re-
' ferred to the Conferences to be held
' for the Negotiation of the Peace.

7. ' When the Conferences for the
' Negotiation of the Peace shall be
' formed, all the Pretensions of the
' Princes and States engaged in the
' present War, shall be therein discussed
' *bona fide* and amicably: And nothing
' shall be omitted to regulate and ter-

‘minate them, to the Satisfaction of all
‘the Parties.

‘By Virtue of a full Power from the
‘King, We, the Under-written, Knight
‘of his Order of St. *Michael*, Deputy
‘of the Council of Commerce, have
‘concluded, in the Name of his Ma-
‘jesty, the present Preliminaries. In
‘Witness whereof, we have signed.
‘Done at *London*, the 27th of Sep-
‘tember, O. S. and the 8th of *October*
‘N. S. 1711.

(L. S.)

Mefnager.

I had little to do now in *England*,
but to wait the Issue of this great
Transaction, and encourage the Par-
ties that had thus serv'd us; and here
I had the Pleasure to see, how the Ene-
mies of *France*, not in *England* only,
but every where else, raged at this Ne-
gotiation: I say I had the Pleasure to
see it, because I found they began to be
sensible, the Ministry in *England* were
now powerfully supported by *France*,
and would be able to carry their Point,
in spite of all the Opposition that could
be made.

My Business was to encourage the
Parties; I mean at Court, for indeed
some-

some times they were ready to Dispond. The Rage, that the Whig Party shew'd, upon the Publication of the Preliminaries; was not only terrible in itself, but grew Popular, and they promised themselves to have them Censur'd in Parliame^{nt}.

Libels and Satyrs flew like Musquet-Balls in a Field-Battle, upon the *Preliminaries*; they were Canvassed, Banter'd, and Expositions upon them published, as every Man pleased; but it all came too late. *They said*, That *Spain* was given up to King *Philip*, and that the Crown which was the occasion of the War, was left by these Articles to the House of *Bourbon*; that the War carried on another Year, would have humbled *France*, and was ended now, meerly to preserve about five Men in the publick Administration; that all the Queen's former Promises, Speeches, and Declarations, were unsaid, broken, and contradicted, and a Thousand Reproaches were cast daily on the Court, for this, as they call'd it, Perfidious Carriage.

I had nothing to say to all this, it was none of my Business; the more of it was true, the better Bargain I had made: But by it may be seen what

Men in Posts in the Government, will on all sides do, to get in, or to keep in their Places.

I Laugh'd at the People that were out, and told some of them, whom I happen'd to see, that the Ministry laid all the Fault on them; for pushing them on such desperate Measures; that they ought to have known by themselves, that Parties, when uppermost, will not stick at worse Things than these, to keep themselves up, and the other down; that if the Ministry had done any thing to the Prejudice of the Queen's Interest, the Whigs were in the Fault; for refusing to serve at first, when all these things were unthought of; and that if they had continued in their Posts, as they might have done, the charge had not been Universal, and the Ministry had not been run to the Necessity which now they complain'd of.

I had no mind to dispute these Things, my Business was to sit still, and see what passed, and let the thing go on; the Parliament approach'd, and great were the Expectations on both sides, nor were the Ministers without apprehensions; but the exquisite Conduct of the Treasurer, in the management of the Par-

Parliament, was never to be equal'd in any Place in the World.

It was now time that I should withdraw, or at least seem to do so, for I had no more publick Business in *England*; it was therefore thought very proper to take a formal Leave, that it might not be supposed I was any longer there; accordingly I made my Visits in form to the Treasurer, the Secretaries of State, &c. and had the Honour to have a Secret Audience of the Queen, in her Closet, who received me very favourably; I Felicitated her Majesty upon the happiness of her Reign, and that Heaven would Honour her upon the Occasion of *Giving Peace to Europe*: I assured her of the Esteem and Friendship of his most Christian Majesty, and that for the future it should be in her Majesty's Breast, in Conjunction with the Greatest King in the World, to give Laws to Mankind. I concluded, with letting her Majesty know, that the King my Master, would think himself further Obliged, if her Majesty would be pleased to allow the Marshal *Tallard*, who had now been a long while Prisoner of War, to return to *France* upon his Parole; He returning to his Confinement, if the Peace

was not made, and that his Majesty obliged himself, the Marshal should perform as became a Prisoner of War, and a Man of Honour. Her Majesty Answered, it should be granted, said a great many obliging things to me, and I had my Dismiss.

It is not material to say here, whether the Queen knew at *that time*, that I was not to go away, or that I went away for a while, and came again; it is sufficient, that even Mons. — who was with me in all the Publick Part of my Negotiation, knew nothing, and that therefore, I not only went back with him to *Dover*, but embark'd with him, and landed at *Calais*; but telling him I had a Visit to make at *Dunkirk*, I gave him the slip, and after a few Days stay in *France*; in which, however, I saw the King in Private, and gave him an Account of what was done, I return'd immediately to *London*, where I kept my self incognito, except to some particular Persons, of whom further Mention shall be made presently.

The Treasurer had kept back the Parliament, 'till the *Dutch* were brought into the Treaty, and then they were

were allow'd to meet: The Queen came, as usual, to open their Assembly; but far from coming to ask their Consent, or move them to approve what she had done. She came to tell them in Triumph, That *at length, notwithstanding the Arts of those who delighted in War, both Place and Time were appointed, for opening a Treaty for a General Peace*: These are the Words of her Speech.

Contrary to the Fears of the Court, and the hopes of the Enemies of *France*, the Treasurer managed with such a happy Dexterity, that not one Vote, in either House, ever went against him, or against any thing that he ever push'd at: One Remarkable Thing, which I think worth a Place among my Observations, was this; it is usual, after the Queen opens the Assembly with a Speech, that the Deputies of the Commons present an Address back to the Queen; wherein they generally thank her for her Speech, recapitulating the Heads, and giving assurances of their ready and dutiful Compliance with her Majesties Commands.

When this Address came to be moved in the House, and the Deputies Debated the several Heads particularly that Point of thanking her Majesty for the As-

urances she had given them, of her Concern for the good of all the Allies, in the ensuing Treaty.

The Whigs moved to have these Words included in the Address, *And that the House did not doubt, but care would be taken, that Spain and the Indies should not be left in the Hands of any Branch of the House of BOURBON.* This was promised in our Preliminaries; but the Ministry, who were our Plenipotentiaries, *as I may call them*, carried this against the Whigs, by a Majority of 126 Voices,

This was testifying sufficiently to the World, that they had given up *Spain*, and was the same Thing, as if they had Proclaimed King *Philip* at the Gate of their Assembly.

It was a particular Satisfaction to me, when a private Agent, that I had employ'd to bring me an Account what they were upon, and how it was like to go, came and told me that he could get me into the House, to hear the Debates that should happen upon that Occasion; I went accordingly, and was thrust in by a Gentleman, whom I knew

knew not, who followed, and placed himself next me.

It was my Misfortune, That I did not understand enough of the Language, to take in the just Ideas, that what was said by particular Persons would have given me ; but the strange Gentleman supplied me in many Cases, telling me in French the Names of every Person that Spoke, and often times what they said.

The first appearance of this Assembly is Majestick and Awful, and much represents the Jewish Sanhedrim. The President, whom they called Speaker, is Seated on a Throne, at the upper part of the Room ; At his Feet Sat several of the Secretaries, or writing Clerks, with large Books, entring down Minutes, of whatever was Concluded. I observed they took no Minutes of what was Spoken, tho' some times, some of the Deputies spoke very long, which made me enquire, how it happened, that frequently those Speeches were made publick in Print ; but I was Informed they are generally false, being re-composed from the Fragments, that some Gentlemen bring away in their Memories, and so put together, as the Occa-

Occasion, and the Party seem'd to Direct, most of them being made up by the Invention of the *Libel-Writers* in the Town. I wondred much, that the Persons themselves would permit such things to be Imposed upon them, as well as upon the Word in their Names; but was told, that the Press was open, as well as the Mouths of the People in *England*, to Print and Say, all sorts of injurious Things, with Impunity; and that the Gentlemen were so used to it, that they took little or no Notice of it; besides, these Speeches, when published, were composed so much to the advantage of the Speakers, and they were made to Argue so much happier, to Speak so much finer, and in so much Politer a Stile, than they ever did, or were capable to do; that they were content with the Injury, for the sake of the Praise.

While I was in the House, they were very hot upon the point, I just now mentioned about *Spain*, whether it should be put into their Address to the Queen; there were five or six of the Friends of the Duke of *Marlborough* who struggled obstinately to have it in, and alledged, that it was the main end for which the War had been first declared,
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the Confederacy made, and the Money for carrying on the War rais'd; but I observed the other Party did but laugh at them, knowing they had plurality of Voices against them; for it seem'd to me, that altho' long Speeches were often made, they were little minded, but if a debate held long, the Deputies would go out to the Taverns and Eating Houses, and set Men to call them when the time came to pass their Votes, not regarding what Arguments were used on one side or other; so that I saw evidently things were then carryed, not by Reason and Arguments, but by Number.

I came a way well pleased with what I had seen, and failed not to put it in a Postscript to the King, that I had just now the Pleasure of felicitating his Majesty, upon the most agreeable and unexpected event that had happened in all our Affair, and that I thought the Interest of his Majesty and his Family, was established now by the Parliament, and that they had voted for King *Philip* effectually.

I observed from this time, that the Whigs began to dispair, and that they were in the greatest Rage imaginable at their new Ministry; for finding that
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the Court were able by Numbers to carry such a Vote as this, which indeed seem'd to be much against the popular Notions which the People in that Nation had always entertained of the War, but too apparent that nothing could stand in their way.

The more they were enraged, the more I saw reason to be pleased, for now, I saw thro' the dark Cloud which had for so long together hung over the *French* Nation, threatening a total Eclypse of her Glory, if not a general destruction of her Monarchy and Government; but now I saw her deliverance rise from those very Enemies, and in that Nation which we dreaded most.

But not to dwell too long here, this Vote being pass'd, the Consequence was, that the Terms of Peace was left entirely to the Queen; it seems the Crown claims the right in *England* of making Peace and War, the People reserving only the Purse, which tho' it is indeed a great Article, yet in the Case I am speaking of, it served very well to our purpose, and in this dispute, it was urged home to the Deputies, that all these things ought to be left to the Queen.

Queen, which was all the Ministers wanted.

It is true, that at the same time a like reserve about *Spain* and the *West-Indies* was offered by the Whigs in the House of Lords, where the Court lost it by one Voice; but they valued not that, it being in their Power to secure the Votes of that part of the Parliament, by creating, and giving Votes to as many as they pleased, which was done by advice of the Treasurer, to the Number of Twelve at a time. It gave me frequent occasions to Reflect upon the *English* Nation, when I saw how they flattered themselves with Notions of great Privileges, which they enjoyed, and of their being more than other Nations secure of their Liberties, which to me seem'd a meer Chymera, seeing I found that Court managements were come to such a degree of Perfection in *England*, that all the Liberties they so much boasted to enjoy, were often entirely at the Mercy of their Princes, and that who ever reign'd, and whatsoever Party had the Assendant with the Sovereign, they never need want a Parliament to do their Business, whether the design might be to Preserve those Liberties, or to Destroy them; two ways.

I found they have, in that quarrelling divided Nation, to do this (*viz.*) Money in the lower House, or House of Deputies; and Prerogative in the higher House; by the first, if the Court was willing to spare enough of it, to bribe and influence Elections, they have obtained such Members to be chosen, as were of their own Party, and who getting in by Corruption, would, no doubt, Act by corrupt Principles; and by the other it was in their Power as a Prerogative, to make not 12 Voices only, but 12 score at a time, and as often as they found cause: All which consider'd, it appeared to me that it is owing to Fate, and the good dispositions of their Princes, more than the stability of their Constitution, that they are not long since fallen into a worse Condition of Bondage, than what they think ours to be in *France*.

But to return to the History of the Affair in hand, which will illustrate these Observations; I found the Peace or Treaty now proposed was doubtless of the utmost weight to the English Nation, and on the management whereof, depended the whole ballance of Power in *Europe*; and yet how easily did they give it up to the Conduct of a Woman; and

and a Woman thro' the goodness of her Disposition, not the least easy of all the Women in the World, to be imposed upon by her Servants.

In the Conduct of her Majesty's Particular, I also found reason to make one Observation, which may be of use to us in *France* (*viz.*) that goodness of Disposition is not always a Vertue, or at least, is not the safest Vertue in a Prince; our August Monarch is a most happy Example of this; who by the inimitable Fire of his Temper, govern'd at the same Time by an unexampled Sagacity, Wisdom, and Prudence, has maintained such an Authority in all his Administrations, that his Ministers of State have been entirely kept within the bounds of their Duty; tho' they have been capable of advising, yet have they never been capable of imposing upon their Sovereign.

The Ministry had now obtained their end, and the Preliminaries being dispatch'd abroad by the Queen's Orders, means were made use of to bring the Allies into a Treaty, and to appoint time and place for that purpose; this was managed with a great deal of Address in foreign Parts, especially in
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Holland by the Treasurer's Direction, and the Applications of such Agents as were employed there; and yet so great was the obstinacy of the *Whigs* in *England*, and such Interest had they in her Allies, that they made it very difficult to bring forward the Negotiation, and had not the ill Success in the Field, reduced the *States-General* to the necessity of complying with the Queen, it had perhaps not been brought to pass, no not tho' the Queen sent them word, she would think her self disengag'd from all former Alliances, and actually did separate her Troops from them in the Field: But when all these high Measures fail'd, fate and the glorious Arms of the King of *France* brought it all to Perfection, to the Eternal Honour of the Management of the most Politick, as well as powerful Prince in the World, as will appear in the sequel of this Relation.

The Affair seem'd now transported from *England*, and our Eyes were fixt upon the *Dutch*; I liv'd in *London*, as a Person out of Employment, and that had nothing to do there but to wait my Masters Orders, which were suppos'd to be, either to continue or to return, as the Answers of the Confederates, were

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or were not suited to the Grand design in View.

This time I took to make the attempt in the best manner I could, to serve, or at least to see what Service I could render to the Court of *St. Germans*, the King having besides what he had said to me at parting, given me his Command twice afterwards, to let him know if there was room to do any thing in that Affair.

I had no way for this, but to enter into a Confidence with my first Correspondent on this Head, which I found was to be done with the utmost caution, and I cannot but remark, that he very handsomely avoided the touching that Point in several Discourses which I offered, that look't towards it, tho' at a great distance, but at length I resolved to break it as plainly to him as possible, and either to bring him into it, or receive a denial; for it was easy to see he had Inclinations which were favourable to that Interest, and so had several other who were near the Queen, but they could not make it practicable for them, as they all said, to take any step in that Interest, without hazard to their own.

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and I never found they had a true Zeal for any thing else, but the last.

However, what I had in Commission, I resolved to discharge my self of, as well as I could, and to bring it on gradually, I told his L———p one Evening, that I thought there might be some occasion for our mutual Confidence in several things that might occur in the ensuing Treaty, which would make it easier to the Plenipotentiaries, when they should come to meet, and that therefore it might not be amiss if he thought fit, to continue our Meetings, that perhaps several things might offer in such Conferences, which had not occur'd to us before, which might be of equal Service, and from whence a good Issue might be expected.

He told me he was of the same Mind, and indeed, had been often thinking to desire it of me, *but you Frenchmen, says he, are the happiest Men in the World, for your quick Conception of things, you start every good thing before me;* I told him I was more happy by far, in hitting so fortunately upon what agreed with his Judgment, than in my being a day or two before him in time; why says he, *what guides us both in this Case,* and going on with some Com-

Compliments, which I omit, *says he*, these Preliminaries are big with *Miracles* and *Wonders*, we may very well talk them all over again, let us begin with *Spain*, *says he*, and the *West-Indies*: You see what our Peers have told the Queen to day as their humble OPINION and ADVICE, (*viz.*) that no Peace can be safe or honourable to *Great-Britain* or *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* are to be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*; and do you see, added his Lordship, what Answer Her Majesty hath been obliged to give them. *viz.* That she should be sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*; I replied, that I had seen nothing all this time, but what admitted of a most easy Reply; for tho' it was true, that the Address of their Peers had in it an Appearance of Significance: yet I had learnt since I came to *England*, that neither House acted in those Things any otherwise than as they were influenced by the Contending Parties without; And as that Advice and Opinion happened to be the *Opinion and Advice* now of *Fear Men* more than there were of the contrary Side then in the House. So when there happened to be

but Five of the opposite Party more in the House than there was that Day: They would then give just contrary *Advice* and *Opinion*; and that this took much from the Weight of their Resolves: that he knew very well, that in the Chamber of Deputies the same *Opinion* and *Advice* was Condemn'd by 126 Voices; that as to her Majesty's Answer, it might very well be agreed to by all honest Men, and that I knew nothing more to the Purpose, unless her Majesty had said, *That she should be sorry any one should think she HAD NOT ALREADY* done her utmost to recover Spain out of the Hands of the House of Bourbon; for my Lord said I, *Has not all been done by WAR that could be done, and have we not beaten you out of Spain by a continued Series of Victory, and are ye able to recover it again? The Queen might well have said that she had done her utmost.*

My Lord answer'd, that I talk'd very Cavalierly of the War, but that it was not our Business, after the Confidence we had used with one another to enquire who had most occasion to put an End to it: And taking me by the Hand and shaking it, said, *That I know the King of France was as hard prest by the War, as the Ministry were by the Whigs, and that*

that a Peace was necessary to both, and it was both our Business to consider what was to be done. My Lord, said I, we settled that Point before, and little more can be said, let the Plenipotentiaries debate the Mediums; But let us begin with the other, and the main Heads that concern England, separately, and talk of them in Order, and we'll come to this again. I said this, because I desired earnestly to talk about the Business of the Chevalier. Well, says my Lord, I find you are willing to put off the most difficult Points to last; where then will you begin?

I told him, I thought we ought to begin where the Articles began, viz. with the Satisfaction to be given her Majesty's Person, in acknowledging her Majesty's Title to the Crown: And I ask'd him if they had any Form in which they would desire the King should do it, that the King, I was sure, would stick at nothing to oblige her Majesty. My Lord said, He did not see any Thing needful in such a Case, but what was usual in all such, viz. That her Majesty's Name, Stile and Titles be made use of in the Peace, and in all Commissions, full Powers, Writings, Instruments, and Papers made use of in the Treaty, when mention was to be made of her Per-

son; that in the mean time she shall be formally treated with as Queen, and that as soon as the Peace is made, an Ambassador Extraordinary shall be sent to Congratulate her Accession to the Crown, and to own her in the Quality of Queen: And says he, there's another Thing that I believe the Queen will expect, *viz.* That the Stile of King shall not be given to the *Chevalier*.

This was what I waited for, I told him immediately, his Majesty would readily agree to all the Particulars he had mentioned, or any Thing else her Majesty desired; that as to the *Chevalier*, the Title was nothing in these Parts of Europe, for the Title of a Family was frequently given to all the Children of that Family, tho' the Eldest only enjoy'd the Sovereignty or Possession. But now we are mentioning that unfortunate Branch of your Family. My Lord, said I, What will her Majesty have us do in this Case, and how shall we dispose of him till her Majesty please to do him the Justice she intends?

He turned very briskly, and asked me what I meant, and that I must have a great Care what I said upon that Subject, for Sir, says he, if you mention
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but his Name among the Ministry, you will frighten them all out of their Wits. *Why so, my Lord, said I, they will, no doubt, do him Justice after the Queen. I don't know but they might, if they had it in their Choice, says he, but they are so jealous of one another on that Head, that not one of them dares mention his Name.*

I told him, I was sorry they were so frightened at a thing which they knew very well how to reconcile; and that seeing they could not but know he must one Time or other be their Master, why should they not strive to Merit from him. He told me very seriously, he thought they would never be thorowly easy in *England* till it was so, but at present it was the main Clamour which the Whigs made use of to inflame the People against them; that the Thing was remote, the Queen a young Woman, and might very well live Twenty Years longer, and they had too much on their Hands to enter into any Discourse about Things of that Nature; that as I knew her Majesty's Justice would not permit her to suffer any Injury to him, which might be prevented; so there might, no Question, several Mediums be found out to reconcile all the Difficulties that other People thought so great; that the King

of *France* would Contribute all his good Offices to accommodate that Matter to her Majesty's Satisfaction, that her Royal House might not be Extinct while the Male Branch remained, nor her Crown be possess'd by Strangers when a Native, beloved by her People, and who merited to be beloved by all the World, was remaining, and that his Majesty hoped the Queen would not desire him to abandon the only Son of her dear Father, who had recommended him so earnestly to the Protection of *France* on his Death-Bed.

He seem'd a little surpris'd at my Discourse; and told me, he did foresee that the Chevalier must be nam'd in the Treaty; and that for Form sake, there might be several Demands about him. I answer'd, that it was impossible to make a Treaty without naming him, and he did not foresee how they could do less than oblige the King of *France* to remove him out of his Dominions; and that therefore, if he might offer his Opinion in private, it would be, that the Chevalier should, on pretence of a Journey, Travel into some Parts of the Countries adjoining to *France*, and take that occasion to be absent from *France* at the time of the Treaty; and if he resided by Choice in such Country. I

I told him, I hoped what ever they expected of the King for Fortn sake, they would hearken to some Medium in Behalf of the Right of that Prince, whom the Laws of God and Nature had made a King from his Cradle.

He replied, that he was very glad to hear me talk of such Mediums, for he foresaw the King of France would be obliged not so much to abandon the Chevalier, as to acknowledge the Succession of the Crown in the House of Hanover, as it was mentioned in the second Preliminary; and he beg'd me to tell him what Mediums could be found out.

I ask'd his Lordship, if his Demand was only to hear what I had to offer, or whether it was a sincere Intention to accept of Proposals for accommodating the Interest of the Chevalier after the Queen. He protested to me, that he should be glad to have the Crown descend into the right Line, and that he believed the Nation would be most effectually settled by such a Thing, especially if the Chevalier would accept of the Advice of some of his best Friends as to his future Conduct.

I answered, That there needed no more than that a secret Article should be made by the Queen, to disengage the King from all the Obligations of such Agreements upon such subsequent Occasions as might happen, and a Declaration from her Majesty, that all the Engagements the King should enter into in the Treaty of Peace, should be so understood by the Queen.

He answered, That he durst not say the Queen would Sign such a Declaration, but he durst engage the Queen would declare by Word of Mouth to him before the Treaty was begun, that she would be satisfied to understand the Treaty in such a manner, and that when ever she discharged the King from it, the Obligation on him as to the Recognition of the Succession should cease.

I told him, I did not question but the King would accept of a Verbal Declaration, and the rather because I told him, we were all thorowly satisfied her Majesty would do the Chevalier Justice at last, if not in her Life-time; nay, I was perswaded if other Obligations did not hinder, I believed her Majesty was so good a Christian, as not to possess the
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Right of her Brother one Hour, if she were but to hear what the King her Father said of it on his Death-Bed. Here I told him what I had heard the Abbot *Gaultier* had undertaken to do, and how I was pressed to offer at the same.

My Lord seemed surpris'd at what I said, and returned, that for his Part he should be glad to sit by and hear the Abbot Harangue upon that Head, and he durst answer for the Queen that she would give him a very pertinent Answer; But that he durst not undertake to perswade the Queen to *Demit* and set up the Chevalier: Besides, he said, the Queen understood the Affairs of *Europe* much better than so; that it was Peace and an End of shedding Blood that her Majesty desired, whereas such a Thing as this would not only kindle a new Fire of War in *Europe*, but remove it from foreign Countries and bring it into her own, and to the Gates of her Palace.

I acknowledge this Discourse had Weight in it, but I was not willing to own it to him, because I was unwilling to give up the Interest of the Chevalier on any Account, and therefore I told

told him, that as to a new War, it was most certain, that as the King my Master had carried on this long War to such a Degree against all the Confederates; so he desired no Man to put an End to it, if he could have *Great Britain* draw a Sword against them too.

He smiled at my Discourse, and told me, That he found I did not understand him, that I mistook when I talk'd of the Queen, turning all her Forces, &c. that nothing was so sure as that, should the Queen offer at it, she would have no Forces, that all her Officers, Army and Navy would Revolt from her as one Man; and ask'd me if I thought the Queen had forgot the Fate of her Father.

I confess he silenced me with those Reflections, and I stood mute for a while, but not willing to drop the Discourse, I mentioned again the Power of the King my Master, Monsieur, said he, Speak no more of that, you know it is Peace, not a new War that the King your Master aims at; our Mistress desires it; but your Master really wants it, at least he does not want to run into a new War: Remember that his Attempt against the general rising of this Nation against King James, brought the first War

War upon him, which he had his Hands full of. Even then when his Wealth was unexhausted, his Kingdoms flourishing, his Strength unbroken, and his Troops esteemed the Best in the World; should such a Turn happen here again, and the Duke of Hanover come in here by a War, by which this Kingdom, which is now enclin'd to befriend him, would be a-new inflam'd against him, I question whether France might not be ruined.

My Lord, said I, the Proposal is the Abbot Gualtiers, I suppose you will hear of it in Publick; I confess, I do not think it very Practicable, tho' I wish it were otherwise.

I entreated him then to consider what might be done, and to speak to the Queen about it. He told me, that he did not see room to do any Thing at present, for that no Body could, or durst speak a Word about it, and indeed he could not see it was proper so much as to mention it to the Queen.

I replied, That certainly the Queen could not be so often talking of those Things, but she must sometime or other mention her Brother; and that I thought nothing could be more *Apropo* than to ask her Majesty what her Pleasure was on that Head, and how she would please to have him dispose of himself.

He told me, That tho' it was true, that this seem'd Reasonable and Natural upon any such Occasion, yet he knew not whether it could be done or not; however, that he would wait such an Opportunity as might present, and let me know what was the Issue.

We had no Meeting after this for five or six Days, except once, when Company prevented any private Discourse, only my Lord took an Opportunity just at taking his Leave, to say, He had *thought much* of what we discoursed last, and that he believed something would be done in it: But two Days after, he sent a Servant to tell me, that if I pleased to Sup with him in Private, he should be glad to see me at Eight a Clock, I went accordingly; and we were in Private indeed, not a Servant being admitted

ted to us, but one that waited while we eat: After Supper, my Lord told me, he had met with an unexpected Opportunity of mentioning to the Queen what I had recommended to him about the Chevalier, and that the Manner was diverting. He told me, he had the Honour to be drinking Tea in the Apartment of a certain Lady, very near the Queen, and that as the Discourse every where was upon these new Preliminaries, so much more was it so there, and that the Lady began very freely with him upon that Head: And Sir, says he to me, *I think you should have had a Conference with her on this Subject, for by my Faith, the Women dare say any thing.*

I was mighty earnest to hear the Particulars, and begg'd his Lordship would be pleas'd to let me into the Introduction, as well as into the Story it self: He told me he would do so at large, and then went on thus.

Why, says he, she began with me, thus, My Lord, says she, I cannot make out these dark Things you call Preliminaries for my Life, I wish you would read me a Lecture of Politicks upon them.

Lord

Lord Madam, said I, you are a better Politician than I. Not I, says she, I cannot understand them, I am all in the Dark about them. Well Madam, said I, but cannot your Ladyship be content to stay a little till they explain themselves. She returned Laughing, We Women, you know, my Lord, love to come to the Eclaircisement.

Well Madam, said I, but what is it that you are so much in the Dark about, where is your Difficulty?

Here she spoke softly, Why, what, says she, do you intend to do with the PRETENDER, so, Sir, you know he is call'd among our People, and sometimes by those who are not his worst Enemies, especially if Company presents?

I was surpris'd, you may be sure, to hear her put such a bold Question, and so publicly too, for there was three Ladies more at the Tea-Table, but they were all Friends. 'tis true, and all of the Family.

Madam, says I, what can we do with him?

Well,

Well, but, says she, I for an Article about him in the Preliminaries, I hope, you have secured Things there.

This look'd very oddly, for I knew that Lady was near of his Room, and therefore I answered her accordingly; Madam, said I, you see the Succession is to be acknowledged as by the present Settlement. She found I spoke Ambiguously, and she put it home to me; I said, says she, how you would have the People understand it, but I hope you understand it as I do.

Madam, said I, you cannot think, but that by the present Settlement, the whole World understands the Settlement of the Succession in the House of Hanover.

Does the whole World understand it, say'd she.

We are so sure they do, said I.

Come, Come, my Lord, said she again, neither you nor I understand it so, besides our honest People that you and I know. She went on then and told me, she thought I need not have been so shy of what I said, by which I knew my Company and replied, that I was far from being shy.

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but that whatever was our Desire, or whatever Thoughts we had of this Person and of his Affairs, I did not see it possible, *as Things stood*, to do any thing for him, or to introduce any Clause in the Treaty in his Favour. *Till* her, she knew how we were flated, and how Vigilant the Whigs were to lay hold of every Opportunity to Charge us with favouring his Interest, and I did not see it possible to avoid Articling against him in the strongest Terms. She confess'd we had Reason for that Part, and she was of my Mind, but she thought there might be some private Agreement made to serve his Interest *in Part*; and that as all Agreements were to be made between the Queen and the King of Prussia, they might by mutual Consent dissolve the Obligation of those Agreements whenever they pleas'd, declaring them now to be so understood, as that they should bind no longer than SO or SO: This, *she said*, was taking away all Reproach of breaking Articles on either Side.

This was so near what you, Sir, had propos'd to me, said he, that I began to think whether you had been conferring Notes with her or not, she I believe you had not.

I told her, I thought that was strain-
ing some Points, which Princes that re-
gard their Parole of Honour could not
pass over, and that it was no more than
a Mental Reservation in Discourse. She
insisted that I was wrong, that the Agree-
ment was just, because Mutual and not
Conceal'd from one another.

I replied, I would not Dispute a Thing
which I had so much Inclination to
have true; but I did not see how this
would answer his End. She said, it
might not *just then*, but that hereafter
it might.

But what will you do in the mean
Time, says she warmly; *will ye drive him*
about the World like a Vagabond, will you
oblige the King of France to abandon
him and do nothing for him, and you
at the same Time ruin him here too,
what, must he *Perish*, will you have the
Queen starve her own Brother.

I began to be a little in Earnest with
her at this, I told her, I did not think
she was so serious as I found she was,
that I believed she was satisfy'd I was
for starving no Body, but she also knew
on what ticklish Terms we stood in

England, and that our Enemies wanted nothing to bring the Mob about us, but to be able to say, we were now bringing in the Pretender, or Acting for the Pretender; That she could not but see they said so already at all Adventures, whether true or false; but if they were able to prove it, all was undone.

Lord, says she, half merrily, half seriously, *What a parcel of States Men her Majesty has here!* Why, 'tis no wonder the Queen is so frightened, every now and then at the Whigs, when you are all so faint Hearted.

Madam, said I, you don't know what it is to fall into the Hands of the Whigs, you know they are People that NEVER FORGIVE.

Well, my Lord, I see you are all afraid of being called to an Account by the Whigs. If ever the young Gentleman does come here, as I don't question but he will, I hope he will call you all to Account for a parcel of —

I took this for a Jest, tho' I found she was in Earnest enough, and therefore I added Laughing, *Concords and Dissensions*, you were going to say Madam, you had as good

could have spoken it out, perhaps we should not be such Cowards, if the Queen would be advised.

Here she turned her jesting way immediately into a serious and warm Discourse, which was really very Pertinent to the Subject, but is too long to repeat.

Here my Lord made as if he would have broken off the Discourse, but I beg'd him to go on; I told him, this Discourse was Essential to what I had in Commission, that I could not but insist upon it, that his Lordship would be so free with me as to Communicate it.

Why, says he, it is impossible to repeat her Discourse, besides the Queen came in and interrupted us.

This made me more eager to know the Particulars of their Discourse, and I press'd him as much as good Manners would permit, when on a sudden he turned about, I think, says he, I must bring you and my Lady ——— together and see what you can make of it; she will talk as freely of it as you can Desire, for

my Part, I am afraid so much as to talk
myself of it.

I answered, I would be infinitely obliged to him to introduce me to such a Lady, as by his Character of her, I found she was, and especially being one near the Queen too; but I beg'd of him, nevertheless, to go on a little further with the Story, especially because he had mentioned that the Queen came into the Conversation, he told me he would oblige me as far as he could, but that he could not remember it all; but that when he spoke of the Queen's being advised, she reflected seriously on their not advising the Queen, that they might be sure the Queen expected they should make that Matter easy to her as well as other Things. That the Queen saw them all so frighted about the Whigs calling them to an Account, that it made her change the Ministry. They represented the Whigs to the Queen as a most contemptible Party, who they were able to overthrow in every Thing; and now on a sudden they were afraid of the very Shadow of them; that there was not a Man among the whole Ministry but my Lord Treasurer, that ever spoke a Cheerful Word to the Queen,

Queen, that they ought to know she was a Woman as well as a Sovereign, and that if they were not able to support what they had undertaken, they ought to tell her so honestly, that she might find other Hands that understood their Business better.

That in the new Articles there seem'd nothing digested, and they seem'd to have left Things so much to the Plenipotentiaries, that they had not found so much as a Scheme for them to Act upon, for Example in this Case of the Cavalier: When ever the Queen enquired about it, all the Answer she could get was, that they put it off from one to another, one knew nothing of it, and another knew nothing of it; and if ever their Opinion was separately ask'd, every one always answered for himself, that he did not know what to advise; that he durst not talk of it, that it was a dangerous Point to speak of, and such Stuff, as that she wonder'd what Men of Council, and State Wisdom as they all pretended to be, could Answer a Queen in such a manner, that by the Preliminaries she found he was to be forgotten, and not so much as named, but we might depend upon it he should

be named in the Treaty; and if the Plenipotentiaries were not instructed how to Act, he would be left at the Mercy of the Dutch, or indeed of his worst Enemies, be Starved, or Murth'd, or worse: And she added aloud, *Can you think, my Lord, but that the Queen has many Thoughts of this kind, can she be easy to have you Murther her Brother?*

Just as she had named the Word BROTHER, the Queen came into the Place; *What, says the Queen, are you always talking Politicks.*

Lord Madam, says she merrily, here's my Lord—— naming me to the Queen, turned Whig. *I cannot think that,* says the Queen. He is turned Cruel and Barbarous, replies she, *and that I think is to be a Whig.*

What is the Matter, says the Queen?

Nay Madam, it is all before your Majesty, says she, *their new Preliminaries* here have been the Dispute, I tell my Lord, They are so Worded, that they will neither let your Majesty do any thing for a certain Person, or do it themselves, I suppose they would be rid on him at any Price;

I wish they would tell your Majesty what you are to do with him.

Says the Queen, I can never get one of them so much as to speak of him, or to Answer me a Question about him, and I don't press them, but I hope they will do as becomes them.

I reply'd presently to my Lady, not mentioning any thing of what the Queen had said; Madam, you Complain of the Ministrys doing nothing in that Affair, perhaps you do not know what is offered at by some Persons at this very Time.

Not I, indeed, says she, all Things are so lock'd up with my Lord Treasurer, that we hear nothing; my Lord is incommunicable, all the Queen her self knows from him, amounts to little more, than that in General all Things go well, and be easy, Madam, be easy.

Madam says I, turning to the Queen, your Majesty knows Monsieur M—— is still in Town, he desires nothing more than to talk freely of this Matter; and it is true, as my Lady —— says, that the Ministry are all afraid of meddling with it; he says, he has something of
very

Very great Importance to offer about it, and thinks it hard, that after the Preliminaries are settled with him, no Body will give him Audience on the rest. I think if your Majesty pleases to hear it, my Lady — would be the best Plenipotentiary in such an Affair; I'll bring Mons. — to wait on her. *With all my Heart*, says my Lady — if the Queen will give me leave, *I won't be so much afraid, as all you Politicians are, that you dare neither speak nor hear.*

I think, says the Queen, *there can be no Harm in this, any more than in the Preliminaries, to hear what they offer.*

Thus, Sir, we broke up our Discourse, and I thought I did you a Service you would be pleased with; and I doubt not the next Time I see her, she will ask if I have brought you and where you are, for she is mighty willing to talk of the Business.

I told him he had done me a great deal of Justice, in saying that I desired nothing more than to talk freely of that Affair; and seeing the Women had so much more Courage than the Men, I should be as glad of a Female Plenipotentiary

mentary as of any other, and only desired the Favour to be called to a Conference as soon as possible, for that the Time drew near when I must be gone, his Majesty having done me the Honour to Name me for one of the Plenipotentiaries at the approaching Treaty at *Utrecht*.

He seem'd surpriz'd at that, and asked me if I gave him leave to let the Queen know it, adding, that he was sure it would be very agreeable to her Majesty, I told him, I would always be glad to acquaint her Majesty with every thing that would please her, and that he might assure her Majesty the King had done me that Honour, on Condition that it was acceptable to the Queen of *England*; so that I had her Majesty's Approbation to get to my Commission, before it would pass: This made it necessary to let his Lordship know, that I had been privately with the King, which a little surpris'd him, my Stay having been so short, that he hardly miss'd me.

He then told me, that he began now indeed to think, what he had no Notion of before, *viz.* That I had something of Importance still to offer. I answered, I had

had so, but that I would be very free with him, it related wholly to the Affairs of the Court of *St. Germans*, that I would not offer to Discourse with any one but himself, if he would enter into that Point with me, but that if he chose to refer me to any one else, I would be directed by him.

He replied, that he was in Earnest in naming the Lady—— to me, for that in Truth for his own Part he did not care to venture; and as for the Women they feared no Body, and that seeing I was willing, he would bring us together in a Day or two. And he added, this I can assure you, that what you say there, will be soonest and with most Advantage convey'd to the Queen, nay, perhaps, says he, you may sometimes see the Queen her self on that Occasion.

It was not long after this, that he carried me to Court, where I follow'd him thro' several Apartments; at last we were stopt, by the Queen's happening to be passing out of her withdrawing Room into her Closet, we paid our Complements, and past on, at length we came into a Room where was a Table by the Fire, and a large easy Chair, and a Table at another Side of the Room with
two

two Candles and some loose Cards: I found afterwards this was the Lady's Apartment that I was to meet, that there had been some Ladies at Play, but that the Queen had come in, and the Ladies were all fled; that the Queen had sat by the Fire some time after, and was just come away when we met her.

The Lady I was to meet with, it seems, was with the Queen; but both the Queen and she too seeing my Lord — and another Person with him going on, she came back to us and found us in her Chamber.

When her Ladyship was come into the Room; My Lord — I found, paid her great Respect, which tho' it gave me no light into her Name or Quality, yet it imported that she was a Person fit for me to talk with, after some Discourse between them, he presented me to her, and told her, this was the Gentleman he had told her Ladyship of, and that I was in Commission from the King of *France*, so that she might put Confidence in all that I should say: that she knew what Subject we were to talk upon; that the Court of *St Germans* were very anxious about the Share they should have in the

Negotiations that were on Foot as to the Chevalier.

He was going to say more when she interrupted him, *Pray, my Lord, do not call him by that barbarous Name, call him any Thing but that, and Pretender.*

Well Madam, said he, *I'll call him by no Name that shall offend you; but I cannot talk of him at all, I refer it all to this Honourable Person and your self.*

With that she turned to me, and told me she should be very glad of a little Discourse upon that Head. *LORD,* said she, *these Politick People are so this one of another, they are frighted at Shadows, for my Part I fear nothing,* says she, *I'll hear what ever you can say, Sir, and do what ever I can for him: Call him what you will, and is he not the Queen's Brother, I know him by that Name, and no other: And with this she made me sit down.*

Being thus entred upon Discourse, my Lord withdrew among some Ladies who were playing at Cards in the next Room, and I found my self left alone with my Lady —

Here

Here I was at some Loss how to break my Design, but she let me soon know that she expected no Ceremony. Sit, said she, I know your Character, what you have been doing here, and have been always with the Queen when my Lord — has given her Majesty an account of the private Discourse you two have had, for this is the Room where the Queen always retired to hear it; with this she related several Branches of our Discourse, which convinced me, that what she said was true.

Whereupon rising up and making her a very low Bow, I told her I had had the Honour of a great deal of Discourse in Confidence with my Lord, as I perceived she knew, that he always told me, that what I Communicated to him, he always laid before the Queen, as I on the other Hand had done the like to the King; that it was the true End of our Confidence mutually to serve our respective Sovereigns, and to bring them to those Terms of Peace and Friendship, which they both desired, and that I hoped we should have the Success we desired; but that I had a secret Commission which I was very loth to Communicate to any but such as his Lordship should think

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proper; and that it was for this End I was introduced to her Ladyship, and desired to know if she required me to shew my Credentials.

No, by no means, Sir, said she, I am no Plenipotentiary, but I know the meaning is, that we should talk of that poor distressed Branch of the Royal Blood that is in Exile in your Country, we are very anxious about him.

Madam, said I, the Sum of what I have in Commission is this, That the King my Master would be glad to know, what is her Majesty's Pleasure to have done in this Case.

Lord, said she, we are at the greatest loss imaginable, we must not appear to have the least Concern about him, we know the Whigs will oblige us to push at his Destruction, if possible.

But Madam, says I, the King hopes you won't go such a length.

Upon this she drew a little Table which stood by her nearer to me, and desired me to sit down, and with an Air of most obliging Freedom told me, That
 she

She was very glad to have an Opportunity to Converſe with me upon this Affair, that indeed it was a tender Subject, and the Miniſters were afraid to ſpeak of it, even to the Queen her ſelf; but that if I thought fit to Communicate to her what I had in Charge upon that Head, ſhe would aſſure me ſhe would not be ſo ſhy of it.

I told her that I had no Inſtructions to propoſe, becauſe the King was now to receive his Meaſures from her Maſteſty, being reſolv'd to Act as the Queen ſhould direct.

She answered, that was putting hard upon *her Maſteſty*, that the Queen could do nothing in his Favour, as things ſtood; but that it was hoped the King of France might find out ſome way to Act in his Behalf, if not now, at leaſt hereafter.

I told her, that muſt be according as they bound him, or left him free, by the Treaty; and therefore as the King was ſincerely willing to ſerve the *Chevalier* to his uttermoſt, as Occaſion ſhould preſent, ſo the Buſineſs for her Ladyſhip and I to negotiate, was to ſee if poſſible, that the King might ſit looſe in that Article,

or at least that no Obligation might be laid upon him, but what her Majesty might hereafter acquit him of.

She told me I must not ask any thing of the Queen that her Majesty could not grant.

I answered, That I would not willingly do so, but that I thought as all the Articles which concerned the Succession to her Majesty's Dominions, were properly a Capitulation with her self only ; it was in her Majesty of right to limit the Extent of the Obligation, and to declare how far they should or should not be binding upon *France* after her Death.

She told me, she was fully of my Mind, but that she feared the Queen would not be brought to give any such Explanation to that Article, or to sign any such Declaration under her Hand by any Means.

I told her, there appeared to me no other Way than one of these two, either that the Articles which should oblige the King to acknowledge the present Settlement, should be made so, as not to bind the

the King beyond her Majesty's Person, and the Term of her Life, or that some secret Explanatory Article should be entered into, to settle the Matter, so as that at her Majesty's Decease, *France* might be at Liberty to Act as should be convenient. She replied, these were difficult Points; however she would take a little Time to think of them, and that we might meet again in a Day or two upon them, which I submitted to, and took my leave: The Lady calling my Lord—— who was *L'introducteur d'Ambassadeurs* for that Time, to go out with me.

About three Days after, my Lord—— sent to me again; and when I came to him, he told me the Lady desired to speak with me again upon the old Affair; so I went directly with him, and found her all alone waiting on purpose for me; we sat down to Discourse with very little Ceremony. My L—— withdrawing as before; she began very frankly with telling me, that she knew I had but very little Time here, that the Affair we had to Discourse of was, in her Opinion, brought into a very narrow Compass; and that our Debate related to two Things, which she summed up thus.

1. That Treaty being absolutely necessary to be set on Foot to restore Peace to the two Kingdom, whose Interests were not now esteem'd so remote, as they were formerly thought to be. It would follow, that for the Satisfaction of the People, and of the Allies abroad, the King should be required in the Queen's Name, to abandon her Brother and his Interest, on pretence of adhering to the Succession as it was now Establish'd.

2. That nevertheless this seeming to abandon the said Interest, was to be so understood, that the King should not be obliged, in case of her Majesty's Decease, not to use his Endeavours for the placing the said Prince on his Father's Throne, to which he had an undoubted Right.

We join'd immediately in granting that this was the Case, but how this Interpretation of the said Clause of abandoning the *Chevalier* should be made Authentick, remain'd a Difficulty: I said it must be referred to the Treaty, and that if possible the Clause for abandoning should be made so safe, that his

his Majesty might not be obliged to harder Terms of that Kind than need must, and that the Plenipotentiaries should be instructed accordingly.

I then ask'd her if I should have the Honour to hear how Things went on here, what might be the Resolutions taken in that Case, and what Conditions might be granted, which I told her would be of great Use to me; because the King had done me the Honour to Name me to be one of his Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty.

She Complemented me upon the Honour I had receiv'd, and said some very fine Things to me upon that Head, which I receiv'd with a due Acknowledgment of her Goodness, and ask'd her if she would do me the Honour, to give me leave to Communicate to her Ladyship what should pass on this Occasion, and receive her Instructions. She told me, with all her Heart, she should be glad to Correspond, and that she would give me a Key to write to her by, and that her Letters should be enclosed to Monsieur, who belonged to the Embassy, and would not fail to be there.

But, Sir, said she, *there remains one Thing, which I think may be presently discoursed of*; whereupon she proposed a Difficulty, which she said, I might for ought she knew resolve beforehand. *There is no question, says she, but they will oblige the King to remove him out of France, or as the usual Term is, out of his Majesty's Dominions; now where, said she, will you send him?*

I answered, That I made no question but that she had something to offer upon that Head, because she proposed the Question: She protested she had not, that she had been musing and revolving all the Countries in the World in her Thoughts, and could not think of a Place for him, where it was convenient he should go, or where it would be tollerable to his Friends to have him reside, she did not doubt but the Plenipotentiaries would determine the Place.

I told her, I was surprised to hear her speak of it in such a manner, that it was contrary to the Practice, that the Usage of Nations and National Treaties left no Precedent for it; that if the King of France be obliged by the Treaty to
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don the *Chevalier*, it must be in some Form like this, (*viz.*) That he shall oblige him to depart his Dominions; that this was enough; that they had no Business to enquire whither he went; it was hardship enough to bid him go; to do the other, was to take him Prisoner and Banish him to a particuler Place, which was not in the Nature of the Thing, it could neither be ask'd or granted, nor could I see any Reason to think that the Confederates would meddle with it.

She seem'd a little satisfied with what I had said upon that Head, but offered to put it to me to Name a Place where I would propose his Residence. I told her that I thought it was needless to Propose, seeing Nature would dictate, and the *Chevalier* was not so void of Council as not to resolve to be as near *France* as possible he might be; that after the Peace was made, there would be several Countries, whither he might retreat, whose Princes would be sufficiently in the Interest of *France* to secure his Person from Danger, and where he might have handsome Usage.

She seem'd very anxious about it, and said she would not have him too remote, for that there would certainly be a sudden Occasion for him in *England* one Time or other. I told her, I hoped so, and that I would be glad to Contribute to his Service on any Occasion. *We can only lay Foundations for it now, says she, but without those Foundations, and unless they are laid now, we shall be undone when the Juncture happens.*

She prest me then to Name any Place where he might Reside upon the Supposition of the King's being obliged by the Treaty to abandon him and remove him out of *France*. I told her, naming Places by way of Advice to him, I might do, but not as from the King, That the Elector of *Cologne*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the King of *Sweden* in his Dutchy of *Deux Ponts*, any of these might afford him a safe Retreat, if he found himself oblig'd to quit *France*, and that he was within three or four Days riding of *Paris*, if any Emergency required his Return to Court, and there was no doubt but that tho' the King would not be obliged to point those Places out to him ; yet if he was willing to go to any of them, the
King

King would use his Interest with those Princes to receive and entertain him. I assured her that the King my Master was so far from desiring to put any Difficulties or Hardships upon him, that the Reason and End of my present Negotiation was, that it might not be required of his Majesty at the Treaty by the Queen's Agents; and that Things might be made as easy as possible, it being not doubted by the King that the *Chevalier* would sooner or later be call'd by Heaven to the Possession of his Legal Right to the *British* Crown, or that it was her Majesty's Desire he should after her Decease enjoy it in the best manner possible. She seemed very well pleased with my Discourse, till I came to speak of the Queen and of her Concern in this Affair, when she entered into a very handsome Discourse with me upon that Head.

She told me, that what ever I said upon this Subject, she took as if it came from the King's own Mouth, by whom, *she said*, she knew I was intrusted in that Affair, and if I pleased to give equal Credit to what she should say to me, it would give the more Weight to what we should Conclude. *I bow'd*, and assured her, *That* whilst I had the Honour
to

to wait on her Ladyship, I took my self to be at an Audience with the Queen, that I knew well enough this was a Case in which the Queen her self could not speak with openness to any one: That I took it to be the unhappiness of some present Circumstances in the *English* Government, which made it so, and that I could not suppose it to be any Defect in the Disposition of her Majesty; that I hoped she would believe the King of *France* knew how to distinguish right in the Case, and how to Act suitable to such Emergencies as came before him, that in the mean time it was my Business to believe every Word that came from her Mouth, and give the same Honour to it, as if spoken by the Queen her self.

She returned then to her first Design, and told me she would give me her Notion of Things, which was, That it was the present unhappiness of the Queen to possess the Throne of her Brother, and which she had no other Claim to than what the Political Measures of the State had made Legal, and in a sort necessary, which however, *she said*, she believed gave her Majesty often times secret uneasiness; That this was not all
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the Misfortune, but that by the same Necessity of State, she was obliged not only against her Disposition, but even against her Principles, to further and promote the Continuance of the Usurpation, not only beyond her own Life, but for ever. That I might be sure under such Circumstances it would be an unexpressible Satisfaction to her Majesty, to see herself delivered from the fatal Necessity of doing so much Wrong; and if it could be possible with Safety, to the Religion and Liberties of her Subjects, to have her Brother restored to his Right, at least after her Decease, if it could not be done before.

That it was true the Queen did not see thro' this, and it seem'd next to impossible, *The Rage and Irreconcilable Aversion of the greatest Part of the Common People to the Return of her Brother being grown to such an height*: Nay, she said, the Queen found it would be impossible to enter upon any Treaty of Peace, or so much as to let the People hear of putting an End to the War, without entering into the strongest Engagements possible for the Confirming the Succession in the House of Hanover, *a Thing that I am sure, says she, is all our Aversions,*
and

and we have no Retreat but to his most Christian Majesty, in hopes of his ordering Things so at this Treaty, that he may be at Liberty to support and assist in the Work when ever an Opportunity should present, that to this End the Plenipotentiaries from hence, *Tho' there was no Communicating any Thing to them by way of Confidence,* should be instructed not to insist upon Things more than Necessity obliged; and *some Reserves,* sure says she, *may be made to leave room for Justice to take Place in Time to come.*

I heard her with great Attention, and taking hold of her last Words, I replied, That I found she had clearer Thoughts in this Affair than all the Statesmen in *Great Britain,* and that she had said more to the Purpose, in a few Words, than all the Men of State that I had met with, who all treated it with wary Expressions, remote and impracticable Notions, *double Entonders,* and Words which signified no more than this, that they were afraid to own what at the same time they would have us believe they desired; and that they talk'd as if they neither aim'd at doing any Service to the Thing they propos'd, or had any Zeal but to their own Safety; that

that they seem'd to me to make no Difference between Converſing, as a Glaſs of Wine with their Friends, and talking with a Man under Character and Com-miſſion'd to Treat; but that ſhe had brought the Thing into a Courſe of Ne-gotiation in a few Words, and we had now ſomething material to go upon.

I told her this was was the very Thing the King deſired, (*viz.*) That the *French* Plenipotentiaries might be inſtructed, to inſiſt upon Things no further than Ne-ceſſity obliged, that nothing might be deſired of his Maſteſty which he could not grant, and that he might not be pushed to do Things by the Queen's Brother, which did not become him as a King, and which would Claſh with the profound Reſpect he had preſerv'd for his Maſteſty's Perſon and Family.

In this Caſe, I told her there might be room left for the King to diſengage himſelf hereafter from the ſeeming Obligation of that Part of the Treaty, and his Maſteſty might be at Liberty to Act as Occaſion ſhould preſent: And here I made an offer, that the Am-baſſador Extraordinary which the King ſhould ſend to *England* immediately after the Peace, ſhould have private In-
ſtructions

structions to enter into a new Treaty to establish the Interest of the *Chevalier* and settle the Succession of the Crown.

She replied, that this was a Step too far, and could not be entered upon now, that it was a Satisfaction to her to have Discourged so fully upon this Matter, that she believed I knew her Mind, and that she saw nothing more to be done, but to settle a Method for the managing this Part of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which was approaching: But that in the mean time she desired to go back to the Matters which we were discoursing of before, (*viz.*) the Residence of the *Chevalier*, and prest me that I would tell her what Place he should be sent to, or moved to retreat to.

I presently named *Lorrain*, as the most convenient Place for him to retreat to on many Accounts, and particularly that it was the nearest Neutral Place, being within two Days Journey of *Paris*; and as it was a Place where I knew the King had Interest sufficient to oblige the Duke to give him a Residence, and to order him to be treated with a Respect suitable to his Dignity; but I added that the King would by no means direct in that Case,

Case, and desired her Ladyship to observe, that I had not the least Intention to offer any Thing of that kind, but that I mentioned it merely as the Result of my own Thoughts, and desired if it was approved of, that the *Chancellor* might have Intimation from hence to cast his Eyes that Way, to which she said no more, than that she would observe the distinction I had made between what I said with Direction, and what I said of my self, and that she would concern her self to have him acquainted with these particulars, for that she thought the Place would be very convenient on many Accounts.

She then told me, she would be glad to consider with me what Method might be taken for the Management of this Affair during the Treaty. I replied, that this depended wholly upon her own Directions, and that she had no more to do, but to give me her Commands to lay every Thing before her as the Treaty went on, which I would esteem an Honour too great to allow me to omit any Opportunity of giving her Satisfaction; and if to this I might add my humble Petition, it should be, that I might have the Honour to know from her, what her Ma-

Her Majesty's Pleasure was on any Article of Correspondence which might lead us into any Dispute, I would take care that she should be oblig'd to all her Majesty's Commands, and would endeavour to make her see how sincerely the King of France was dispos'd to give her Majesty all possible Satisfaction, not in this Case only, but in every Thing else, in which her Honour or the Interest of her Kingdoms were concerned.

She receiv'd this with an Air of Satisfaction, that I am discover'd it was what she her self desired, telling me, that she should be very glad of such a Correspondence as the only way to bring the Thing in View to a rational Method of proceeding; and with this she told me, she should be glad to see me again in two or three Days when we would settle a Method for Corresponding, and desired I would think of a Key for our Writing, that if any Letters should be intercepted, they might not be decipher'd or understood.

I beg'd it might be the next Night, if possible, because it was more than Time that I should be in *France*; and that I understood her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries

ries were already named, and would be at *Dirrecht* before it could be possible for me to receive the King's Instructions, and to give his Majesty an Account of my Negotiation.

Accordingly I waited on her the next Evening, without any Introduction, when she received me with all the Civility, and in the most obliging manner imaginable; she told me she had it in Charge to let me know how well I was with the Queen, and how agreeable it was to her Majesty to hear that I was to be at *Dirrecht*; And going to her Cabinet, she called me to her, and presented me in a Purse of Crimson Velvet, made up like a Case, and fasten'd with a Gold Clasp, her Majesty's Picture set round with Diamonds. I started back a little, and offered to receive it on my Knees, which she understood immediately, but would not suffer me; For, Sir, says she, *I do not tell you that the Queen presents you, but you may be assured BT IT,* says she, *how satisfactory your Visits here have been, and how much I think it my Honour to Hand this Present to you.*

Several Things past at the same Time of Complement and Ceremony, rather

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than any Thing of Moment: After which I took my Leave, wondring with my self that such mean Things could be said of this Lady, as some have made publick; and I must add, that she seem'd to me as worthy to be the Favourite of a Queen, as any Woman I have Convers'd with in my Life.

I had now no Visits to make, nor Audience of Leave to take, but of my Lord — my happy Correspondent, which I did the next Evening, and the Morning following took Post for *Dover*, having a Pass; and by that Means getting a Boat immediately; I landed at *Calais* the same Evening, and in three Days had the Honour to wait upon the King, and give him a full Account of all my Negotiations; with which, but especially this last, his Majesty appear'd very well satisfied.

I had no Time to lose; and having the Honour of his Majesty's Commission as Plenipotentiary; and having ordered my Equipage to be got ready before, and to be sent away, I speeded after, and came to *Utrecht* the 15th of January New Style, as did also the Marquis de *Huxelles* and the Abbot *Pelignac*, who were

were the other Plenipotentiaries. What happened in the publick Negotiations there, the Sessions or Meeting of all the Ministers of the Allies, I do not enter in these Minutes, having kept a perfect Journal of the same, for my particular Use, and which, at the King's Command, I put into his Majesty's Hands after my Return, who has promised to return it to me again; but what was further done there and elsewhere, and particularly in *England* in this eminent Case of the *Chevalier*, will be more fully contain'd in the Letters which I have from time to time receiv'd from *England* from the Hands of this Lady and some other Persons of Quality by her means, and in the Copies of my Answers to her, which I have sealed up together, and left to the Use of Posterity, and to which I refer.

I had not been long at *Utrecht* before I perceiv'd there was a Defect somewhere or other; for I could find no Effects of the Promises that had been made me, nor would the *English* Ministers enter into any Conversation, *much less* Confidence upon the main Thing, which I expected: I mean as to the *Chevalier*.

I found the Ministers of the Allies seem'd to push that Point rather than the *British*. And there was nothing to be heard of among them, but of obliging *France* in the solemnest manner to Renounce him, Drive him out of the Kingdom; and if they had any Room for it, out of the World too: And the *British* Ministers seem'd not so much to Act in Concert with them, as to stand in some Suspense from the Vigour of the others in pushing that Affair; so that we did not stick to say, they were aw'd by the *Dutch*.

This perplex'd me, because I saw evidently, that if we had no Path mark'd out by the *British* Plenipotentiaries, we could not interpose in that Affair in the least; our Business being indeed to take our Measures from them in every Thing; and to press the main Design, (*viz.*) of making a Peace; so that if they had no private Instructions in favour of the *Chevalier*, there was no Remedy, but he would be intirely lost.

I set several Engines at work to Sound the *English* Ministers in his Case, but found all perfectly dark; and that they
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were so far from having private Instructions, that they were ignorant even of the very Design of Sending any such Instructions. I could not but perswade my self, however, that after all the Assurances given me as above, there would something or other happen which would set this Affair in a differing Light, and that if some secret Instructions were not yet sent, they would be, and resolv'd to wait a little longer ; but finding still nothing occur, and that the *British* Ministers seem'd ready to concur with every ill-natur'd Thing that was offer'd, and rather ready to add to them than to shew any Favour. I could not forbear writing a Letter on that Subject to my Female Minister of State, for as such I treated her.

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MADAM,

MADAM,

I Do my self the Honour to make use of the Liberty you were pleas'd to allow me of Writing, for which the Urgency of the Occasion will make my Excuse. I have been now Three Weeks in this Place, and by all Intelligence I can receive, or Observations I can make; the private Instructions which your Ladyship was pleased to say would arrive here, are not yet come. I beg Leave with the greatest Humility, to represent, That there seems to be more than ordinary Necessity of something of that Nature, the Inclination of the Ministers here seeming either to be naturally against us, or influenced by the Dutch Ministers, and I must observe also, the Dutch Ministers hang upon this Part, as if it was their Peculair: and that it was to be treated of with them; which there being British Ministers here, we cannot go into: Your Ladyship will know what Use to make of this Part; 'tis our Opinion here, that the Dutch are influenced by private Agents from England, to concern

concern themselves, as if there were Reasons to doubt the Sincerity of the British Ministers, in their acting against the Chevalier, which in Truth I fear there is not; Especially, unless they have the PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS, which your Ladyship did me the Honour to give me Reason to expect, and upon which you may be satisfied the King my Master has intirely depended. Otherways perhaps it might not have been in our Instructions to have yielded to what ever the British Ministers should desire, relating to the Interest of the Chevalier, as also for the Place of his Residence: If these private Instructions, are not sent in Time, we shall have no Resource: saving the private Declaration of our Masters sense in the complying with those Demands, for Form sake, &c. as was concerted with Lord ——— But the King had much rather the Terms should be softn'd in the Treaty it self: All which I lay at your Ladyship's Feet, and beg an effectual Answer may be returned by this Person, whom I send express, and to whom your Ladyship may please to give intire Credit as far as concerns the safe Conveyance of whatever you shall do me the Honour to direct to,

May it please your Ladyship,
Your Ladyship's most humble,
And most obedient Servant,

M.

While these Things were Transacting, I found the Court at *St. Germans* was very uneasy, and lay at the King Night and Day, to prevent the Blow, which they found was aim'd at them by the Treaty; and if possible, to obtain some Temperament in behalf of the Personal Residence of the *Chevalier*. The first Step taken, was by a private Direction of the *Queen Dowager*; intimating, that to avoid an Article being put into the Treaty, by which the King should be obliged to cause the *Chevalier* to depart his Majesty's Dominions. He the *Chevalier* should take Occasion to be out of the Kingdoms at the Time of the Treaty: Either for the Curiosity of Travelling, or on some Religious Pretence, for the performing some *Vow*, or on the Ceremony of some Visit, or upon such Occasion as should be most suitable to the Circumstance of the Treaty: Which Absence might be guided in such a Manner, and made more near or Remote as the Temper of the Confederate Ministers at *Utrecht* should happen to be.

It took up some Debate, especially among the Royal Family, about the Place whither he

he should go : Some propos'd *Switzerland* ; others a Visit to the Court of *Spain* ; others a Pilgrimage to *Notre dame de Mountferrat in Catalognia* ; some one Way, some another : But the King, who had other Measures in his Eye, and no small Expectations from another Negotiation, which I had no Hand in, resolv'd not to have him so far from Home, and nam'd a Visit to the Court of the *Duke of Lorrain* ; which as it was near at Hand, and that Correspondence might be not only easy but speedy, His Majesty took on him to direct, for the Reason I have just mention'd.

I no sooner had an Account that the *Chevalier* was to make a kind of Halt in *Lorrain* : But apprehending it was his own Design, or the Design of Lord M—his Adviser : And foreseeing, that if it was rumor'd, that he design'd to continue in *Lorrain*. The Ministers of the Allies, if not the *Brittish* Ministers themselves, if private Instructions did not arrive, might perhaps demand to have him remov'd, or Consent to oblige the King to add the Word *Lorrain* to that of the Dominions of *France* ; and that he should not be suffer'd to Reside or Remain in the one or the other. I say, upon these Apprehensions

prehenſions, I reſolv'd to mention it to the King in my next Letters ; for I thought it far more diſhonourable to his Maſteſty, that he ſhould be oblig'd to forbid another Prince to entertain him, Then it was to Conſent not to entertain him himſelf ; beſides it would be a great Diſhonour to the Duke of *Lorrain* to be ſo far impoſed upon. I therefore humbly repreſented theſe Things to his Maſteſty, and gave my Reaſons, as the King always expected I ſhould, and had obliged me to do in ſuch Caſes.

But the King had other Views, and was made to expect Things from the *Engliſh* Court, which I plainly ſaw his Maſteſty would be diſappointed in ; and indeed I muſt ſay, it was the only Caſe in all theſe Affairs, in which his Maſteſty was ever miſtaken : But Things were wrong repreſented to his Maſteſty from *England* ; Whether it was, that the Abbot *Gualtier* was not yet convinc'd of his Miſtake, or that he was reſolv'd to go on in a *La Gascogne*, as before, to promiſe Things which he was not able to bring to paſs ; or whether ſome other Agent, to whoſe Management the King might have committed that Part after my coming away, had given Hopes of ſome
Step

Step to be taken that I knew not of; or whatever other Source these Measures sprung from, I have not yet learn'd, but this I have since come to know, *viz.* That the King was very much incens'd at his being so much imposed upon; and some People who had an Hand in it, have had Reason to know by Experience, that nothing in the World was more provoking to his Majesty, than to have any of his Agents make him expect from them, what they had not good Reason to believe, they were able to bring to pass.

It seemed to me for some Time, That the King had Reason given him to expect, that the private Instructions in this Affair would come to his own Hand, either directly from *England*, or by Way of *St. Germain*; for in Two or Three Letters which I receiv'd from his Majesty, Written by himself, I was bid not to be uneasie about the *private Instructions*, which were to be given to the *British Ministers*; for that I should hear speedily of them, by a Way which I did not expect; and that perhaps they should be sent to me to put into the Hands of the said Ministers myself.

I must confess, that as this was surprising to me at first; so after I had receiv'd the following Letter from the *Lady*—who I have so often mentioned, I began to fear his Majesty had not been faithfully serv'd in *England*, tho' I did not know whether I ought to be so forward, as to suggest it, till I saw further; but the King was soon convinc'd another Way, of which I shall speak presently: But first to my Letter, as follows.

SIR,



SIR,

I AM not surpriz'd at all, at the News you send me, that no private Instructions are sent to our Ministers at Utrecht, seeing your Court have thought fit to make it the Subject of a particular Negotiation HERE; who their Agents are, I depend on it, I need not inform you; and who their Instrument here, I CANNOT inform you; but you may be assur'd it has put that which took a good Train before, into a Condition not easily to be recover'd: You will judge the better what a Concern this is to the CHEVALIER's Friends here, by Reflecting how agreeable all you had done before of another kind, was to

Yours, &c.

I had nothing to do, after I had received this Letter, but to Reflect how unfortunate the Court of *St. Germans* was, and as I believe will ever be, in precipitating their own Affairs, and by their following the rash Counsels of those about them, who are impatient of their Exile, tho' the King had done all that could be desired of him to make it easy to them; for it presently ocured to me, that this was some private Negotiation, which they had set on Foot to engage some of the Ministry in *England*, and perhaps *the Treasurer*; many of whom, they vainly thought, would befriend them; whereas I saw clearly when I was in *England*, that the Ministry there would give them Promises in Plenty; but not run the least Hazard for them to do any Thing effectual; and that if any Dependance was upon them, they would certainly be deceived, after the greatest Expectations, nay, and Engagements too.

But I was astonished when I found, even the King himself, led into the Affair, and made to expect what I was satisfied the People in *England* could not so much as Promise, or indeed speak of,
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but with the greatest Caution, and at the greatest Distance imaginable: For as I have observ'd already, the Whigs watch'd the Ministry so narrowly, and charg'd them so home, upon every Occasion, whether justly or unjustly, with private Negotiations for the *Chevalier*; which was so popular a Charge, and would so effectually have ruin'd them, as Things then stood, that *I knew* they durst not entertain any Discourse of it; nay, they had so little Confidence amongst themselves, that in a Case of such Consequence, and so Nice, they were jealous one of another, to the last Degree, and durst not Communicate their Thoughts to their best Friends.

As I had several Occasions to know this perfectly well, so that I could not be deceiv'd; I was almost certain that whoever it was that had taken so much Freedom with the King, had either impos'd upon him, or been greatly impos'd upon.

And yet it was the hardest thing in the World, and the most dangerous of its kind, to suggest to the King, that his Majesty was wrong: So I had no more to do, but to wait a while, and say

say nothing, but what the King extorted from me: Every Letter I receiv'd had something in it of this kind, bidding me expect every Post effectual Directions in the Affair of the *Chevalier*: But after some longer waiting, one of my Missives had this Expression from the King, *viz.* *Either I am very ill-serv'd in England, or something will come effectually in a very little Time from thence.*

I thought now was a proper Season to let his Majesty know, that the Affair of the *Chevalier* suffered extremely for want of his Majesty's Return from *England*; and begg'd his Majesty would please to give me his Commands, in Case what he expected from *England* did not arrive; and then enclosed the Letter above, without any Reflections or Remarks at all of my own.

The King, as I heard afterwards, was exceedingly concerned when he saw this Letter; and yet was loth to think it possible that he could be deceiv'd: However it caus'd his Majesty to write in such a manner to those Agents, *whoever they were in England*, that they were forced to write back in plain Terms, The Ministry in *England* were Men of no Honour;

Honour, that they had held them in Suspence a long Time ; and that now they not only did not come to the Point with them, but declin'd any Conversation on the Subject ; only said in general, that a certain Person would be sent over to *Utrecht*, who should Discourse by Word of Mouth freely, and should settle that Affair so as should be agreeable to all Parties : They made long Apologies for their having been dup'd all along by those who they had depended upon ; and that it was none of their Fault.

The King did not say much, but he never forgave it them : And in his next Letter, his Majesty very passionately complain'd of his Misfortune, in having employ'd People who did not understand their Business ; and charged me to try if I could renew that Affair again ; for, *as his Majesty was pleased to express it*, I had left Things in a Way of Success, but these Men had destroyed it all again ; and had now put it off to a remote Discourse, of a Person to be sent to *Utrecht*, they knew not when, or by whom.

As soon as I receiv'd this Letter, I could do no less than Write the following to my Lady——— to see if it was possible to restore the Negotiation, what she and I had left it, and to bring Things to the Channel they first run in: But the Success did not Answer the End of this Letter, any more than it had done of the King's Agents.

MADAM,

I Could not be more surpris'd at your Letter, than I am just now with an Express from **THE KING** my Master, complaining of the Measures taken by some of his Servants in your Court: The unhappy **CHEVALIER**, a Person fated to be undone, has often before now had the fairest Prospect of his Affairs Clouded and Eclips'd, but never so effectually as by the hasty Council of St. Germain, where they are never Easy, but when they have Agents at Work to perplex their own Measures. I find, Madam, all you say is Right; with this Addition, That the King has been ill serv'd in England, and Resents it accordingly: His Majesty is now told, that a Person is to be
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sent over to **UTRECHT** to Negotiate with me, and the British Ministers, the Measures to be taken in the **CHEVALIER's** Affair: I Confess, I neither relish nor understand it; and beg your Ladyship to let me so soon into the Secret of it, as you shall think proper for the Service of the **CHEVALIER**, and for **THE KING MY MASTER's** Satisfaction: I know, if a proper Person were sent hither, fully Instructed, this Affair might be settled here with more Secrecy, and by Consequence with more Safety than any other Way: But then I must add, that I shall despair of any Effect by it, unless your Ladyship would do me the Honour to let me know, that such Person **COMES INSTRUCTED** from one no less Interested in the Queen, and Zealous for the Chevalier, than yourself; and whoever brings Credentials from your Hand, I shall gladly enter into a Confidence with, in this Case; and then I should have the Assurance to let the King my Master know, he might expect something from the Negotiations which should follow.

Utrecht, Feb. I am with the profoundest
12th, 1711. Respect,

May it please, &c.

I received not one Letter from the King after this for some time, without an Enquiry at the Bottom, if any Person was yet arriv'd from *England*; or if I had any thing yet to Communicate from *England*: When at length a Gentleman did arrive, viz. a Kinsman of the *English* Treasurers; but as he brought no Credentials to me, and seem'd wholly taken up with Monsieur the Abbot; and particularly as I found, he had no Knowledge of the Source of my Intelligence, nor any Correspondence the Way that I expected, I kept my self on the Reserve, and had no Conversation with him that was of any Consequence to the Thing in Hand: And yet if my corresponding Lady's next Letter had any right Notion or Guess at what had happen'd, this must be the Man which the King was made to expect would carry on this Matter. If he enter'd into any Measures with the Abbot about it, as was Reported, it was to themselves; for I never found any Effect from it, neither were the *British* Ministers at all less Rigid than before, in their insisting upon the *Chevalier's* being removed out of *France*.

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These Delays brought the King to the Necessity of admitting all those Clauses in the Treaty, which obliges him to acknowledge the Succession of the Crown in the House of *Hanover*, and to give no Disturbance to the said Succession, when it should take Place: All which Particulars are in the Treaty so worded by the Ministers of the Allies, as if they apprehended that indeed Words could not sufficiently express their Meaning; for in the Time of this foolish Management, much was lost; and particularly, tho' it was not till the Fifth of *March* that the Specifick Demands of the Allies, *as they were then called*, were delivered in; yet the *British* Ministers having, *as I said*, received no Instructions of what our Court expected. I found these Demands drawn up in the roughest and most disobliging manner possible, especially considering what I had Reason to expect: But of this more anon; in the mean time, when the following Letter came, I saw evidently what we were to expect, and so resolv'd upon other Measures.

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SIR,



SIR,

WEre it not that I am exceedingly concern'd for the Miscarriages of an Affair, which I had so much Hope from, and which I thought was, by your good Management, entirely out of Danger, I should be very merry with the Court of St. Germain's, on Account of their new secret Negotiations here: I take it for granted, that they are fallen into the Hands of my Lord T—— he loves a Secret, and is famous for making Intricacies, where there is a sterility of Intrigues; and no less renown'd for causing every thing of such a Nature to miscarry; if their Assurances are from him, I doubt not he values himself upon having deceived them; and if the Person to be sent to Utrecht comes from him, I dare promise you that when he comes there, he wants his Instructions: In the mean Time, assure yourself, the People to whom all this ought to have been Com-

Communicated, have not so much as known that a Word has been spoken of it ; and are wondring much that they are not applied to. 'Tis true, the T—— dares not mention it now, because, as he knows, he would not be trusted in such an Affair ; so some here who owe him an ill-turn, would not fail to pay the Debt, and turn such a Secret Negotiation to his entire Ruin.

If he is not your Man, it must be my Lord —— he has more Probity ; but I cannot see upon what Foot he could make such Promises, as your last implies ; for I am perswaded he never mentioned it to the QUEEN : The Truth is, those Things are of so nice a Nature, that, as you may remember, I told you when you were here, there is not any two among our Ministry, that dare make a Confidence about it, nor any one of them that would venture to mention it to the QUEEN : And I undertake to assure you, that whatever your Agents have informed the King your Master of, or given his Majesty Reason to expect, 'tis all in the Clouds here, and the QUEEN has not so much as heard a Word of it ; and this makes me suppose their great Secret remains with my Lord T—— where Secrets often Sleep and Dye.

We know nothing less or more of a Person to be sent to Utrecht, neither are there any private Instructions can be sent with any Authority: And by these Omissions I foresee the Thing will miscarry: Who are to be blam'd, you best know. But depend upon it, this Matter can never be brought to any Head, but by the Method you and I Concerted; they who have taken other Steps, give me Reason to know their Intelligence is bad, and that they do not miscarry for want of Ignorance: If any thing occurs, favour me with a Line as usual.

St. James's, March I am, &c.
2, 1711-12.

As I have observ'd, the Fifth of March New Stile, and before I received the above Letter, the British Ministers deliver'd in their Specifick Demands; and if I lost all Patience at the rigid Demands that appear'd in them relating to the Chevalier, it was, because I had, as I thought, laid so good a Plan for the preventing it; However, to give Vent to my Concern, and let them know in England what was done; the following Letter was hurried away a little faster than I used to do Things of such Consequence.

MADAM,



MADAM,

Your Ladyship will have the Satisfaction, by the Papers I enclose you, containing the Specifick Demands of the British Ministers, to see to how little Purpose I have given you all this Trouble, and how easily the weakness of Friends may serve the Enemy, as well, nay perhaps better, than the Treachery of Persons intrusted: I know it would have been much easier to have prevented this Blow, than it is to retrieve it: Nor can I expect that any Instructions can now be given to the Ministers to Recede, which would not alarm your Enemies, and ours also: I have the Satisfaction, however, to have discharged punctually the Part I had in this Affair, and the Honour of your knowing where the Fault lies: It is my Felicity that this was not the Essential Part of my Commission in England, but rather what by Accident offer'd: Mean time, Madam, I am infinitely bound to your Ladyship, for the Honour done me in England, and must leave the Chevalier to his bad Fortune.

Utrecht, Ma. 7, 1712.

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The Truth is, after I had consider'd a while, the ill Turn things took upon this Occasion; I pleas'd myself that I had no part in the first Transaction; but what was, as I noted by a kind of Fortuitous Appendix to my principal Business; and that I had only the Misfortune to see *the King*, my Master, disappointed by other Hands, without there being any Room to reflect upon my own Conduct.

Indeed the King was so irritated at this Foolish Part, that he wanted but little of Resenting it in such a Manner, as would have been to the great Misfortune of the *Chevalier*, and of all his Friends; for *in a Word*, it was all owing to the Impatience and Jealousy of the Court of *St. Germain's*; who, tho' the King had Agents of his own in *London*, who perhaps did their utmost; yet they of *St. Germain's* being uneasy, could not refrain sending a secret Embassy themselves; this, *it seems*, was a *Scotsman*, who pretended great Interest with a *Scots Lord*, who was an Officer of State in *England*; but either the Messenger fail'd in the Interest he pretended to have, or the *Scots Nobleman* fail'd in what he promised to do for him; Seeing the Sum of his
Nego-

Negotiation was briefly *this*, that after a long Stay, he perform'd only these two notable Exploits, *viz.* (1.) That he spent a great deal of their Money. And (2.) That he ruin'd and expos'd the Business which he was Intrusted with; and at last came away with nothing but an empty Promise from the said *Scots Lord*, That a Person should be sent over to *Utrecht*, to Negotiate that Matter with the *French* and *British* Ministers together: A Proposal which was in itself at that time very unlikely; and which, it seems, was never perform'd: For, as I afterwards understood, the Person who I say did come to *Utrecht*, was not the Person expected, nor was he intrusted with any Thing of that Matter.

It was after I had come to an Eclairissement in this Matter, that in a Postscript to a long Letter to Madam, I took the Liberty to use the following Expressions.

' P. S. I could not dispatch this Letter without acquainting your Ladyship, that both you and I have been mistaken in our Notions, both of who has been imploy'd from *France*, and who intrusted in *England* with this Affair;

' fair ; seeing a *Scotsman* from *St. Ger-*
 ' *mains*, and a *Scotsman* in your Court,
 ' have been the Agents to deceive one
 ' another, and to abuse their Masters ;
 ' As to the enquiring who the Secret has
 ' remain'd with, they confess now at
 ' *St. Germans*, that it has really remain-
 ' ed with no Body, for so ill a Choice
 ' did they make of their Agent, that
 ' he has only expos'd his Errand but his
 ' Employer : And our People in *London*
 ' are very free to send Word hither, how
 ' ill he has acquitted himself ; tho' by
 ' the Way I must observe, that this was
 ' not done till after they had been amu-
 ' sed with the Persuasions of this Per-
 ' son, to believe Things were in a good
 ' Train, when they were indeed in
 ' Hands who intended nothing less, than
 ' to perform what was propos'd.

I AM.

This Lady was exceedingly provok'd
 when she understood these Particulars,
 and expostulated with me to know the
 Name of this *Scotsman* ; but I was not
 at that Time able to inform her ; nor, if I
 had, was I resolv'd to do it : For per-
 haps the Man being still in *London*, it
 might have expos'd him, either to re-
 ceive some Mischief, or perhaps to do
 some,

some, by exposing the Persons who he had Corresponded with, as well as the Persons who imploy'd him.

She was importunate also to know what I meant by a *Scots* Lord, and it lay wholly in her Thoughts between the Duke of *Hamilton*, who was named to be Ambassador to our Court when the Peace should be concluded, or the Earl of *Mar*, who was then, or soon after, Secretary of State; and perhaps she was not mistaken, as to the Lord T—I found they had no Confidence in him at *St. Germain's*, nor much any where else; and I was a little merry with her upon that Head, when I told her she had happen'd to throw away some Satyr upon my Lord Treasurer, but that indeed I took it for a Satyr upon us in *France*, that she should charge us with knowing him so ill, as to trust him in an Affair of that Nature, and much more after such a Character of his Sincerity, as she had given me upon all Occasions.

Our Letters of this kind were too many, and yet of too little import to take up Room here. It remain'd now, that seeing the great Thing was over, which we had aim'd at, and that Dis-
appoint-

appointment could not be retriev'd; that we should try to give it as good an Issue, as we could; and even this could but ill be done by so remote and tedious a Negotiation: However Necessity oblig'd me, first to solicit her Ladyship, that no Difficulty might be made, or particulars entred upon, concerning the Place whither the *Chevalier* should withdraw, or where he should reside.

She sent me Word, it was in her Opinion a needless Enquiry, since as the *Chevalier* was already gone out of France, the King could not be desired to promise any Thing, but to keep him out; and that being a free Person, he might go to what Part of the World he would, and it could not be ask'd of the King to oblige other Princes not to entertain him.

I own'd to her, that it was reasonable indeed to argue so, but that as I had secret Intelligence of a contrary Design; it was not improper for me to furnish my self with Strength to prevent it: I represented how dishonourable it would be to the King to have any such Conditions imposed upon him, or so much as offer'd to him, that it was enough to en-
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gage him to abandon a Prince fled to his Court, which was always the Asylum of banish'd Princes, and the Refuge of the unfortunate; and that if he should be offer'd any thing farther, it would be neither more nor less than breaking off the Treaty, which we should be all very sorry for: But it was impossible, that the King could bear Things so unworthy of himself as this would be: And I again excused my being impatient on that Head, because, as I had hinted to her before, I was assured there was something of that Nature upon the Anvil among the Allies, and we hoped her Majesty would not permit them to have it in their Power a second Time to break off a Treaty, which was so much for the good of all *Europe*, by insisting upon Things dishonourable and impracticable for the King to grant.

I was very long and particular in my insisting on this Head, which I did the rather, because I was really alarm'd with an Intimation I had, that the Allies would insist, that the King should confine the *Chevalier*, and give him a kind of honourable Prison for Life, which would have been a Thing so horrible in its Nature, and which the King would

would have receiv'd the Proposal of with so much disdain, that it would have been the most certain Way to have not only broken off the Treaty, but to have made the Breach between the King and Her Britannick Majesty more irreconcilable than ever; and to have the War been more *picquant* against *Britain*, than against any other Part of the World: All which I fail'd not to represent in very pressing Terms, and such as, I thought, must have extorted a serious Reply; and therefore I was surpris'd in an extraordinary manner, when in her next Letter, wherein she was very long, and even abusive in her Reflections upon some of the great Men in their own Court; She contented herself with saying to all my Importunities above, that she could not think I had any Reason to be anxious upon that Affair at all.

It is true that either her Intelligence was much better than mine in that Part, or that, though she was not willing to let me know any Thing of her Measures, yet that she did take effectual Care to put a stop to what I had been told was doing, for I heard no more of it, neither was any Thing of that kind offered at
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the Treaty; tho' in spight of all my Endeavours or hers either; the *British* Ministers came without any Hesitation into every Proposal to make the *Chevalier's* Case desperate, that any of the Allies could make them, and seem'd to value themselves upon their forwardness to do so: And thus the Articles came to be loaded, as we now find them, with so many impertinent Repetitions and Circumlocutions, *as we took them to be*, for the binding the King never to espouse the Interest of the *Chevalier*, or concern himself in his Behalf.

There remain'd yet another Negotiation to be set on Foot, which made me not resent the Usage abovementioned, so much, as otherwise I might perhaps have done, for I was really disgusted to the last Degree in my Thoughts; and this was, That an Explanation might be privately agreed upon, for the declaring in what manner all these Concessions, which the King was thus to make, should be understood; And this was a Matter of such Moment to us, and which we found would be with so much less Difficulty, past with some People in *England*, that I thought it no despicable Expedient, seeing if those De-

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clarations were made by the King, and we could get them accepted and signed as a separate Article in *England*, his Majesty would then have the greater Freedom to Act as he should see Cause in Time to come.

I had drawn up the separate Article in as brief and concise a Manner as I could, and transmitted one Copy of it to the King, and another Copy to *England* in Terms like these, *viz.*

‘ That it is agreed, and his most *Christian Majesty* hereby declares, on his own Part, That so much of the said Article as obliges him not to give any Assistance, &c. to the *Chevalier de St. George* and his Adherents shall be understood; and is hereby declared on both Sides, to mean only for and during the Life of her present Majesty, or any Heirs of her Body, and no longer: And this Declaration and Explanation being made, and signed the same Day with the said Treaty, shall be accepted as Part of the same to all Intents and Purposes, as if it were Incorporated therein,

I receiv'd but very ambiguous Answers upon this Subject, for a great while, which made my Correspondence with my Friends in *England*, a little less Courtly, and less Pleasant than usual, the Persons I solicited on this Head, always express'd a great deal of good Will for the *Chevalier* and his Interest, and I believe were unfeignedly, and without Reserve, desirous of every Thing that might Contribute to it; but they were not without their Difficulties on several Accounts, and I believe, in some things, were not without their Jealousies one of another: Again, I often found they were not so sure of the Queen as they pretended to be; and tho' they took a Freedom, *especially the Women*, to talk Things at a Distance, which they really had on the Anvil of their own Management; yet when it came to the Point, they had not ripen'd the Queen up to their Lengths, nor were they able to bring to pass, what they had fancied was Easy; nay, even not in such Things as they had pretended they could undertake for.

Among the rest, I believe this was one, and I dare say, by what I perceiv'd afterwards, however honest they thought the

Project of a Declaration, as above, was on the Side of the King of *France*, they could not entertain such a Notion of it on the Queen's Side, as to venture to propose it to her Majesty to Sign and Exchange it.

To come off of this Difficulty, the next Letter I receiv'd about it, contain'd a long Apology for a Medium in the Case; *viz.* That they would receive such a Declaration on the King's Side; and the Queen might be told, that the King of *France* expected so to be understood in all the Concessions he should make, and that he would hold himself to be no farther oblig'd, than as this Declaration should express; and that her Majesty having been made to know beforehand, how the King understood himself bound by the said Treaty, and how not; it would be sufficient without Signing on her Part.

But as they thought the Queen had too much Respect to the Integrity of her Way of Treating, to Sign such an Article; so I assur'd them the King my Master was too Religious an Observer of his own Obligations by Treaty, *whatever scandalous Things they had said in England*, to think himself disengag'd by any thing

thing, but her Majesty's accepting positively of his Signing under the Explanations mention'd; and that if the *Chevalier* was lost in the Nicety of this Dispute: I appeal'd to them, that it was at the Door of the People in *England*, who call'd themselves his Friends, and that we were not to be blam'd, whatever might be the Consequences.

But the Difficulty was too great for them, and they were oblig'd to acknowledge, that it was impossible for them to get over it: They importun'd me long, that the Declaration might however be made of our Side, and that it should be of Signification or of no Signification, as the King should please, unless the Queen might be brought to accept it: But the offer was so below the known Justice of his Majesty, that I durst no more offer it on those Terms to the King, than they durst offer the other to the Queen: Upon the whole, they desired me to compleat the Article, and send it over, tho' unsign'd, that they might have it ready to offer, if they found Room for it: This I could not refuse, but could never get them one Step farther than this, that they durst not move it to the Queen.

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However it was our Opinion, as well
as theirs, That the King having made
such a Declaration of his Meaning in the
said Treaty, and that he would be un-
derstood to be no otherways bound by
the Treaty, than should consist with the
said Explanation; it was sufficient to ju-
stify his Majesty's entering upon Mea-
sures suitable to the said Explanati-
on, when a proper Season should offer:
But that must be left to be decided ano-
ther way, if the Debate ever comes up-
on the Stage.

FINIS.



